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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Explosion in China and the Powers

CHINA's latent civil war has become real, justifying the worst fears of the pessimists and giving rise to the possibility that this local conflict may result in a new world conflagration. Two factors stand out: first, that this country and its armed forces have been, and still are, committed to the support of the Chungking government; second, that Russia is assumed to favor, though less openly, the Communist government in Yenan.

Some liberals are demanding that America pursue a policy of strict non-intervention in China's internal affairs. They fail to understand that, by our financial, military and moral support of the Chungking government, we have already intervened. While, therefore, withdrawal by us as well as the Russians might avert war between the United States and the Soviet Union, it could well mean Chungking's ultimate victory over Yenan. In spite of the high morale and the heroism of the Communist armies, in the long run they are probably no match for Chiang Kai-shek's American-trained and American-equipped troops. Moreover, it is well known that Chungking has been using Japanese troops to fight the Communist armies.

A military solution of the Chinese problem which would favor Chungking's policy of political and economical reaction cannot be acceptable to democrats anywhere. While the Chinese Communists are not democratic in the Western sense, their record of social and economic accomplishment promises well for the future. But no military solution which would give exclusive power at this moment to either side offers hope of permanent harmony.

Non-intervention, therefore, is not the answer. The conflict must be resolved on a higher level. It is up to the three great powers—Russia, America and Britain—to intervene jointly if they really desire not only to preserve world peace, but also to remedy the causes of this menacing conflict. The basis of such a solution is to be found in the partial accord recently reached by the two Chinese sides themselves. This incomplete agreement provided for inclusion of the Communist forces within a single national command and their concentration in the North, equal legal status for all political parties, including the Communists, the establishment of constitutional democratic government and the guarantee of civil liberties.

The world, still suffering from the horrors of the war, trembles before new weapons. The great powers have resolved jointly to maintain the peace. Their force is overwhelming. A strong and united China is essential for the preservation of peace in the Far East. America, through her President's recent statement on foreign policy, is on record as demanding that every liberated people freely and democratically choose its own government. The Chinese Communists—and Russia—would fervently agree that this policy ought to be applied in the present instance. It cannot be applied if the civil war is permitted to continue, or if the dictatorship of the Kuomintang is victorious. The first

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and possibly greatest test of joint action is here. Let us —in concert with Russia and Great Britain, since the United Nations Organization has not yet begun to function—sternly bid the Chinese to stop their war and carry out their recent agreement for unity.

The Reactionaries Fight Relief

EUROPE TODAY is one step from starvation. Take fats and oils. A man must eat 20 pounds of fats and oils a year to keep well and strong. Americans eat 44 pounds of fats and oils a year; Italians 5 pounds, Poles 3 pounds a year. Eight children in every hundred are dying at birth in France. Forty-five of every hundred Italian children live to be one year old. Diseases are spreading; typhus in Eastern Europe, diphtheria in Greece and Norway, bubonic plague in Italy, tuberculosis all through Europe. Europe has not the strength to fight these diseases. For Europe, the supplies sent in by UNRRA are the margin between life and death.

Forty-four nations signed the UNRRA agreement. They are $579 million behind in their commitments. Five hundred and fifty million dollars of this debt is owed by the United States. There is no shortage of available supplies for UNRRA in America. There is no shortage of ships. The shortage is of funds. Food cannot be bought for UNRRA until funds are available; ships cannot be assigned until the food is contracted for.

We should ship $70 million worth of food to Europe this November. We will ship food worth $50 million. In order to obtain this food, UNRRA has been forced to use funds allocated for other supplies. Europe has lost $13 million worth of clothing this November because the funds we owe were not available. Europe has lost $5 million worth of medical supplies; $21 million of equipment needed for reconstruction. These supplies, Representative Clare Hoffman told our Congress, Europe does not need, because it is not used to having them.

UNRRA could ship 600,000 tons of American food to Europe in December. UNRRA has $10 million left to spend. If the $550 million has not been passed on by the Senate and the House, and approved by the President by November 15, one-quarter of the December shipments will be lost; another week, and a third will be lost.

Yet the old alliance of Republicans and Southern conservatives is fighting the relief program with all its power. We know that all is not well in the administration of UNRRA supplies. But the answer lies in the agency's reorganization and general house-cleaning rather than in sabotaging its efforts. The UNRRA appropriation was a solemn obligation, entered into by Congress. The worst enemies of UNRRA could do no more than attach crippling riders to the bill. This work began in the House Appropriations Committee where Everett Dirksen, a past master in sharp congressional dealing, tried to force through the Herter and Brown "free-press" amendments.

These amendments forced politics into relief. They violated agreements entered into by 44 governments. They violated the democratic procedure of adjusting UNRRA's Council. Ex-Governor Lehman stated that they "would impose upon UNRRA administrative burdens which it could not hope to carry." The Brown amendment denies all funds to any country which "maintains any barrier, technical, political, legal or economic, to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating" news of UNRRA, or which "attempts to censor in time of peace" news of UNRRA's activities. Representative Herter assured the House that the amendment was directed solely against the USSR. On this understanding the Republicans and some Southern Democrats pushed it through. It passed because 50 Administration supporters were not in Washington.

But this was only a token fight. We are committed to renew our contribution of one percent of $1,350 million to UNRRA in 1946. On the assumption that we will live up to our commitments, UNRRA has undertaken an $800-million program for China, a large program for Austria and Italy. The appropriation must go through.

How will we face the peoples of the earth, we who speak of our love of freedom, our belief in universal

FOR THE RECORD—FROM THE RECORD

Mr. Rizley of Oklahoma: "I was one of those who voted against the creation of UNRRA. . . . We should not be a party to keeping an organization functioning that is permitting the use of relief dollars to play power politics, to foster and aid communism, to aid, assist and abet Tito and his cohorts."

Mr. O'Konski of Wisconsin: "Mr. Chairman, I am more concerned about freedom than I am about food. . . . Where does this call for more food, where does this call for more clothing and for more medicine, come from? Does it come from the people who have given their all for freedom? Not at all. This call for more clothing, more food, and more medicine comes from the chiselers and the gangsters and the racketeers that have forced a government against the will of those people."

Mr. Smith of Ohio: "UNRRA. . . . is an international racket of the first water. . . . It should be abolished forthwith and not another cent appropriated for it."

Mr. Rankin of Mississippi: "We are ostensibly trying to feed the hungry peoples of Europe. I am offering to substitute the Red Cross for an international bureaucracy because we know that the Red Cross will feed those people. . . . If this amendment is adopted it will do just exactly what the Christian people of America want done."

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brotherhood and our faith in world organization, if we deny to these peoples the food and clothing which we possess in abundance, which they lack to the point of death?

Tomorrow's Wages

PRESIDENT TRUMAN said all the right things about labor, wages and prices. He placed definite responsibility on the appropriate congressional committees for failure to enact more generous unemployment compensation, the full-employment bill and continuation of the United States Employment Service. He pointed out that labor, in asking for increases in wage *rates*, is now merely trying to keep its *earnings* from falling too much. Unless labor gets more purchasing power, he emphasized, the future will be black for all of us. He refused to buy wage increases from the employers at the cost of higher prices for their products, saying that the increases can and should be made without boosting prices to consumers. He told why this is so—because profit margins are wide already, and labor costs are being reduced in numerous ways, including increased production per hour.

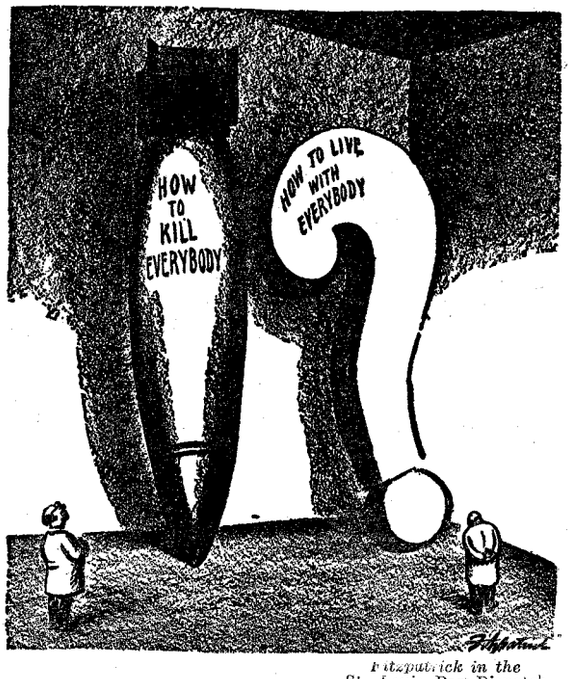
It is necessary to clear up a number of confusions which have arisen in comments on what the President said. The subject is necessarily technical, and most people are not skilled in economic theory. One criticism was that Mr. Truman should have come out with a formula which would reassure everybody and put an end to the controversy by saying exactly how much wages should be raised. He rightly declined to do this. The capacity to raise wages without increasing prices, in a private-enterprise economy, necessarily differs from industry to industry and even within industries. Either Mr. Truman would have had to name too small a percentage, or he would have had to fix one so large that a lot of employers would have come back to the government and said, "We have followed your instructions and raised wages by the required amount, but as you see from our books, we shall have to increase our prices to stay in business." That would upset the whole plan.

Mr. Truman has also been accused of taking back at the end what he had said at the beginning about wage increases without price increases. The OPA *would* allow price increases, he said, in certain exceptional cases. Substandard living conditions, wide inequalities within an industry, acute labor shortage are to be regarded as good reasons for higher wages even if they do necessitate higher prices. What the critics do not understand is that these really are exceptional cases and can be kept under governmental control. Before price increases will be permitted even in such cases, the OPA must be convinced that profits are too small to keep the employer producing. A final concession to employers was made—only in these cases—as a sort of footnote. When the OPA turns down a request for higher prices, the employer who grants a wage increase can come back six months later and appeal the decision if it actually causes operation at a loss.

Having laid down these sound principles, the President called upon employers and unions to apply them honestly. There should be collective bargaining in good faith. If agreement is impossible, the parties should accept reasonable mediation and arbitration. The public will not be patient, he said, with failure to accept these means of adjustment, and he strongly hinted that the government will crack down if wide and costly labor strife develops.

This is the utmost that the President of a nation committed to private enterprise could say. It may be foolish and weak to ask people to be reasonable. Many, we know, *are* unreasonable in the scramble for profits and power. But stiff bargaining disputes over material rewards are inseparable from the particularism of private enterprise. If Mr. Truman had said, "We shall step in to say in every instance what prices, wages and profits shall be," he would have been playing the role of an economic dictator. If his dictatorship were pro-labor, the regime would become socialist. If it were pro-capital, it would be capitalist totalitarianism. The price the people must pay for free enterprise is confusion in economic affairs, injustice, loss and inconvenience. The plea for reasonableness is a plea to reduce these disadvantages to small enough proportions so that our economic order may be tolerable.

The President will probably have to exercise more pressure than he has so far employed in order to induce reasonableness in every important case. We may feel the need of a ringing appeal to the country such as



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

In the Laboratory of Human Affairs

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Franklin Roosevelt might have made on one side of a momentous dispute. The conference of employers and union representatives which has just opened in Washington will offer some indication how much of a conflict is ahead of us. If important employers are bent upon fighting without giving an inch, they can wreck the entire national program.

One thing should be remembered by the "public" or the "consumers" in any dispute which may arise. Labor cannot, in a free country, be forced to work—without a fight—for less than workers believe is just. Nor can employers be forced to operate without profit. Economic pressure may eventually cause labor to surrender. But the application of such pressure means economic warfare. Strikes cannot be forbidden without forbidding true bargaining, and bargaining cannot be forbidden in the labor market while it is permitted in others. If we want free enterprise, we must be prepared to accept the combats and losses which go with it whenever sweet reasonableness does not prevail.

Blackmail in Palestine

THE STRUGGLE over Palestine has reached the boiling point. The Jewish defense organizations—which have hitherto refrained from violence and terrorism—have swung into action. Arab riots have been staged in Palestine, Egypt and Syria. British armed forces in Palestine have been strengthened and are ready to enforce "law and order."

The issues of this struggle are real enough. But the show of force, violence and terror—resorted to by Jews and Arabs alike—is nothing but a policy of blackmail. It is a policy of blackmail because each party knows that in the long run it is not strong enough to extort from the other concessions which it knows are unacceptable. There is only one way to find a permanent solution: the conference table. As William H. Stringer points out in his article in this issue of the *New Republic*, there are other alternatives to the exclusive demands of Jewish and Arab nationalists as they are now made.

The Palestine problem really boils down to the question whether or not unrestricted immigration should be granted to the tortured, impoverished and starving Jews of Europe. A solution of this question cannot wait until protracted conference discussions have settled the political future of the British mandate. Unrestricted immigration, as we demanded in our issue of October 29, should be the order of the day.

Since that editorial was written, we have received a number of letters objecting to our statement that "the Zionists ill serve the cause of human decency when they raise the issue of Jewish nationalism and a Jewish state in Palestine." Why, these letters ask, does Zionism ill serve the cause of human decency? Our answer is that raising the political question of a Jewish state will seriously interfere with the task immediately at hand—unrestricted immigration. The events of the last two weeks have borne out our fears in this respect.

We believe equally firmly that the Arabs and British ill serve the cause of human decency when they use, as they now do, the Jewish victims of Nazi brutalitarianism as a political football; the Arabs when they raise their own exclusive political demands; the British when they refuse to open the door to Palestine. Their claims, explanations and justifications have no moral validity in the face of the urgent need of finding a haven for the world's most pitilessly persecuted minority.

But because, in our eyes, the Arabs' nationalistic aspirations and Britain's empire politics are wrong, this does not mean that the Zionist demand for a Jewish state is right. From the liberal point of view, nationalism—the Zionists do not deny their nationalist objective—and sovereign independence are hardly adequate solutions in the modern world, regardless of whether they are advocated by nascent nationalists like the Zionists or articulate Arab elements, or by dying nationalists like our own isolationists or British imperialists.

If the events in Palestine—and, for that matter, in Indonesia, China and the Balkans—teach us anything, it is that the time is more than ripe for collective action by the United Nations Organization to use its power by finding satisfactory solutions and maintaining international peace.

Latin American Tinderbox

WHEN THE NEWS of the recent military coup against the regime of President Isaias Medina Angarita in Venezuela first reached the United States, a liberal New York newspaper, without waiting for confirmation of details, immediately saw in the revolt a conspiracy inspired by Argentina's strong man, Colonel Juan Perón, for fascist domination of Latin America. As it turned out, the coup had no connection whatsoever with the Argentine dictatorship, but was staged by a group of young army officers in coöperation with the mildly leftist Acción Democrática, headed by Dr. Romulo Betancourt, a Socialist. Its objective was to assure free elections scheduled for next spring, and to guarantee the Venezuelan people a larger share of the profits in the predominantly foreign-owned oil companies. The ideological confusion was made even greater by the Communists' siding with the ousted government.

The reaction of the New York newspaper was typical of the stereotyped approach of American liberals to Latin American politics. The same kind of thinking has long obstructed a realistic understanding of the present Argentine dictatorship. It is true that the Perón regime has all the trimmings and paraphernalia of fascism—from anti-Semitism and the suppression of political

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liberties, to concentration camps and an official ideology —without, however, the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, as was the case with Nazism. But it is equally true that it is backed by a sector of the working class which is sufficiently large, as was demonstrated after Colonel Perón's return to power, to paralyze—with the government's aid, of course—all of Argentina's industrial activities. Although almost all labor leaders are opposed to Perón, there are reports by reliable correspondents—unpleasant as they may be—that the rank and file of the General Confederation of Labor has fallen for the wage increases and reduced hours decreed by the Perón regime, even if only for demagogic purposes.

Similarly, the sudden ouster of President Getulio Vargas in Brazil is not the black-and-white proposition which American liberals generally assume it is. Although the Vargas regime was hardly the kind of government under which free men would care to live, the new strong man, General Pedro Aurelio Goes Monteiro, is an outspoken fascist. The revolt which he headed was allegedly for the purpose of ensuring that the elections would be held on December 2. Although Vargas had repeatedly declared that he did not seek office, there was some reason to believe that he sought to stay in power. It was an open secret that his personal supporters, known as *Queremistas*, favored postponement of the presidential elections and preferred the election of a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution. Strangely enough, the Communists—long Vargas' bitterest enemies—advocated the same program.

What do these recent events, in countries as different as Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela, add up to? That their political life does not necessarily fit into the usual definition of politics as understood in the Anglo-American world. Just as the symbols of democracy found in Latin American constitutions seldom squared with the realities of dictatorship so common in Latin American countries, the epithet of fascism often fails to describe accurately the strong-man regimes recently come into power. Dictatorship has been the rule rather than the exception in most Latin American countries since their emancipation from Spain. The most adequate term to describe these dictatorships is *caudillismo*. The *caudillo*, the man on horseback, comes to power by way of a coup, usually with army support. His usurpation rarely means a change in the country's social institutions. In Argentina, for instance, fascism is less an imported article than the consummation of the country's recent oligarchic class rule. It is true, of course, that the Nazis have exerted considerable influence on the Perón regime.

The population is usually, though not always, on the side of the revolutionary elements. This does not mean, however, that the Latin American "revolutions," even though they may depose a dictator, as recently in Brazil, are "democratic," or that the ousted dictator, like General Medina of Venezuela, was a "fascist." Even if, as in Venezuela, the revolution has leftist connections, it is more likely than not that after a short honeymoon of freedom the pattern of *caudillismo* will be repeated.

If this country is to have a realistic policy toward Latin America, liberals must understand that the liquidation of *caudillismo* is a long-range proposition which requires the gradual revamping of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial social structure in most countries. Seeing behind every coup in Latin America the tentacles of "fascist conspiracy" does not serve that purpose. The general outlook for Latin America is pretty much the same as it was before the rise of fascism in Europe. It is also well to remember that hostility to the United States is not the exclusive prerogative of Latin American "fascists" and dictators. It has been, and may again be, shared by the labor movement, which looks with suspicion on American capitalist-imperialist ventures south of the Rio Grande. Although Venezuela's new leftist President Betancourt has reassured our business interests that his regime does not plan any radical measures, anti-American sentiment may well flare up in Venezuela.

If we want Latin America to have democracy as we understand it, our first task is economic rather than political. Increasing industrialization in some countries, like Chile or Mexico, has strengthened the labor movement, which is the strongest force for democracy and Pan-American friendship. In other countries land reform is a prerequisite for democracy. We must assist the Latin American countries to counteract the economic dislocation which has followed the war. We can do this by making our cutbacks in purchases of raw materials as gradual as possible, and by arranging for future imports of Latin American resources in exchange for agricultural machinery and industrial equipment. Only increased industrialization will guarantee the greater prosperity that is essential if political stability and democracy are to exist.

Loosening Alcoa's Grip

CONGRESS will soon have to decide whether the $700-million investment our government made in aluminum plants during the war is to be used to create more jobs and more production, or more monopoly; whether the Aluminum Company of America will be allowed to retain its stranglehold on light-metals production. During the war, this industry was expanded to seven times its prewar capacity. Although half of its facilities are now owned by the government, 90 percent of all production is managed by Alcoa under contracts with the RFC. What alternatives are there to these contracts which expired on October 31?

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The Surplus War Property Board has a plan for the disposal of the government-owned plants in which the Department of Justice and the Senate's Small Business Committee substantially concur. This plan envisages competition as a prerequisite to enable the industry to absorb the productivity of the government-owned as well as of private plants. Under the plan, government-owned plants would be sold or leased to competitors of Alcoa "under conditions of equal opportunity."

If Congress should adopt the Board's plan, it would have to authorize considerable subsidies to the independent companies. For Alcoa's strong position is making it difficult for the SWPB to sell government-owned plants to private companies. They cannot easily buy adequate supplies of bauxite or of electric power at a low enough price to match Alcoa's production costs. Moreover, many of the government plants are, for reasons of size and location, uneconomical for independent peacetime operation.

For fifty years, various private companies have tried to buck Alcoa's monopoly advantage without success. Clearly, if competition is to have a chance, the government will have to pave the way. Last March a United States District Court ruled that Alcoa violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, but specified that "in deciding whether to dissolve Alcoa or how to do it," the court will "wait until it learns what the [Surplus Property Administration] has in fact done." The circle is complete. To break out of it, Congress, instead of wrangling over definitions of "competition" and "subsidies," may have to reopen the whole question of monopoly and what to do about it.

There is the question whether the best remedy for private monopoly is private competition. Even if it is legally possible, it might be economically and technologically disadvantageous. Both technologically and economically much is to be said in favor of mass production under central control. There are other alternatives to private monopoly, such as public ownership, public yardstick plants and public regulation.

It might be preferable for the government to continue ownership of the plants which it now wants to turn over to private business, but which the small companies are unwilling to buy without the promise of subsidies. These plants could be operated under public authority, very much like the TVA, and serve as yardsticks for the entire aluminum industry, including Alcoa. The latter would find in the publicly owned, centrally administered plants a real competitor which it could not intimidate so easily as the small, private companies. Competition would prevail, but it would not be the cutthroat competition which will prevail if the entire aluminum industry is broken up, and which will certainly require the early intervention of a federal regulatory commission.

Whatever alternative is finally accepted, the real solution lies in spreading the benefits of mass production through mass consumption. So long as competition with Alcoa is limited to financially weak companies, potential aluminum consumers like automobile or railroad-car manufacturers will not be persuaded that aluminum is no longer a monopoly industry and will therefore refuse to tie their own production to it. Whether the SWPB's plan can assure such a solution is an open question.

The concessions necessary to enable an independent producer to compete with Alcoa are in the power of the RFC and the SWPB to grant. Guarantees to purchase the total output of a company are, of course, not possible, nor are they mandatory. But so long as there is no direct money payment by way of subsidy or to make up an operating deficit, lease agreements making special provision for low earnings in the first years would seem to be quite in order. Such arrangements might take the place of "subsidies" in most cases, and should open the aluminum field to at least a few new producers without further inducements, unless Congress seeks a different solution of the aluminum monopoly.

It is essential that Congress declare itself either for or against the monopoly in aluminum. The SWPB's plan is now before it and will go into effect on December 1 unless Congress specifically rejects it before then. At this moment there appears to be a good chance that Congress will reject it, not for the right reasons but for the wrong. Adoption of the plan would mean "subsidy," and subsidy spells opposition. The "free-enterprise" cry echoes ringingly from those who want to see Alcoa in possession of the new plants as well as the old. But if aluminum is eventually to be turned into an expanding, productive industry, independent producers must be brought into the production field on the best deal possible for the government. If this is not done, or if in the long run it proves practically impossible, public ownership of the aluminum industry looms as the only possible solution.

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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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The Nuremberg War-Crimes Trial

Revolution in International Law

by Heinz Eulau

IT WAS a memorable scene when, on October 18, in Berlin's Kammergericht Building, the indictment against 24 "major war criminals" was handed to the International War Crimes Tribunal.

"Silence!" From the bailiff's cry that the court was in session to its adjournment, the short proceedings were conducted in four languages—English, French, Russian and German. On the bench sat the four chief judges—General I. T. Nikitchenko for the Soviet Union, Henri Donnedieu de Vabres for France, Lord Justice Lawrence for Great Britain and Francis Biddle for the United States. They were flanked by their alternates—A. F. Bolchkov, Robert Falco, Justice Norman Birkett and Judge John D. Parker. Facing them were the prosecutors—R. A. Rudenko for the Soviet Union, Charles du Bost for France, Sir Hartley Shawcross for Great Britain and Francis Shea, chief assistant to the American prosecutor, Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, who was in Nuremberg preparing the trial.

Why Trials at All? – Before the four prosecuting powers decided to hold trials against the Nazi leadership, there were two alternate courses of action. The top Nazi criminals could have been freed on the ground that the heads of a sovereign state are personally not responsible to other nations for their official acts. But, as Mr. Justice Jackson has said, "to free them without a trial would mock the dead and make cynics of the living."

The second course open to the Allied powers was summary punishment by decree, without hearings—the procedure used against Napoleon Bonaparte. But, as Jackson also pointed out, "undiscriminating executions or punishments without definite findings of guilt, fairly arrived at, would violate pledges repeatedly given and would not sit easily on the American conscience or be remembered by our children with pride."

The purpose of the trial is, then, in Mr. Justice Jackson's words, "to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused after a hearing as dispassionate as the times and the horrors we deal with will permit, and upon a record that will leave our reasons and motives clear." But more is involved in the trial than the just punishment of the accused. As both the indictment and the charter of the International Tribunal suggest, a new departure will be made in international law. If carried through, it will have far-reaching consequences in the conduct of a state's foreign relations.

How Does the Indictment Read? – It is impossible to describe here in detail the massive 30,000-word document. It accuses the defendants, individually and collectively, as "guilty . . . of crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity and of a common plan or conspiracy to commit these crimes." Count One traces the development of the plot to turn a peaceful Germany into an instrument of aggressive war through totalitarian control of the state and all that this implies. Count Two, "Crimes Against Peace," charges that under the leadership of the defendants, Germany embarked on a series of aggressive wars in violation of treaty obligations and other solemn pledges. Count Three, on war crimes proper, charges that in the prosecution of total war Germany resorted to murder, pillage, torture and destruction in violation of international conventions and the penal laws of the invaded countries. Count Four, "Crimes Against Humanity," charges most of the defendants with responsibility for the extermination, enslavement and deportation of civilian populations *before* and during the war, and for the persecution, on political, religious and racial grounds, of all those who opposed them or threatened to do so.

Appendix A of the indictment specifies the individual responsibility of the defendants for the crimes charged. Appendix B lists the organizations which the prosecution wants to have declared "criminal in purpose": the German cabinet, the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party, the Elite Guard, the Storm Troopers, the Gestapo, and the General Staff and the High Command. Appendix C cites the treaties and conventions declared to have been violated by Germany.

What Is the Jurisdiction of the Tribunal? – The Tribunal may judge and punish, without prejudicing the rights of other countries in which criminal acts were committed, those "major criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical location." The Tribunal cannot be challenged by the prosecution or the defense.

The jurisdiction of the Tribunal relates to crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Jurisdiction over the latter, it is explicitly stated, is granted "whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated." Article 7 of the Tribunal's charter provides that "the official position of the defendants, whether as heads of state or responsible officials in government departments, shall

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not be considered as freeing them from responsibility or mitigating punishment." Article 8 proclaims that superior orders shall not free the defendant from responsibility, but "may be considered in mitigation of punishment if the Tribunal determines that justice so requires."

Articles 9 and 10 provide that the Tribunal may declare any organization of which a defendant was a member, criminal. If an organization has been named criminal, individuals may be brought to trial "for membership therein before national, military or occupation courts. In any such case the criminal nature of the group or organization is considered proved and shall not be questioned."

How Will the Trial Proceed? – The defendants will be given all the rights usually provided for in criminal trials—a bill of particulars specifying the charges, the right to make relevant preliminary explanations, the right to listen and be listened to in a language that is understandable to them, the right to conduct their own defense or have assistance of counsel and the right to cross-examine witnesses.

The Tribunal is to confine the trial to a speedy hearing of the issues raised by the charges and it may apply disciplinary measures. However, Article 19 provides that the Tribunal "shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and non-technical procedure and shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value."

After the proper procedures have been followed, the Tribunal shall deliver judgment and pronounce sentence. It must give an opinion on guilt or innocence. The death sentence is permitted. The affirmative votes of at least three members of the Tribunal are necessary to impose convictions and sentences. In case of guilt, the sentence will be carried out on orders of the Allied Control Council for Germany, "which may at any time reduce or otherwise alter the sentences, but may not increase the severity thereof."

How Were Differing Legal Systems Unified? – Mr. Justice Jackson stated on August 8 that the task of combining different legal systems on criminal procedures into a coöperative trial was "far more difficult than those unfamiliar with the differences between Continental and Anglo-American methods would expect. . . . Much to which American lawyers would be accustomed is missing. . . I have not seen fit to insist that these prisoners have the benefit of all the protections which our legal and constitutional system throws around defendants . . . However, the Continental system is the one the Germans themselves have employed and understood. It does not seem inappropriate that a special military commission for the trial of Europeans in Europe, for crimes committed in Europe, should follow largely although not entirely, the European procedures. The essentials of a fair trial have been assured."

Moreover, there were political obstacles to be overcome. At the beginning of the discussions, each nation held extremely divergent views. Great Britain, probably motivated by fear that the defendants might produce material embarrassing in view of the favorable comment by some British officials on the Munich agreement, originally opposed the whole project on the ground that existing international law does not provide for the trial of heads of state.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, originally favored summary executions and considered a protracted trial a waste of time. Both the French and the Russians—the former in spite of bitter experience, the latter still remembering their own attack on Finland—opposed the idea of making aggressive war a crime. Finally, the United States, where criminals often benefit from the obstructive and dilatory tactics resorted to by the defense, insisted on procedures which were not in the body of Continental law.

The greatest deviation from the Anglo-American legal system is the agreement that not a jury of their peers, but the court itself, will find the defendants innocent or guilty.

If in the course of the trial the Tribunal accepts the definitions of war crimes as given both in its charter and in the indictment, the emerging jurisprudence will be revolutionary as far as traditional international law is concerned. These new concepts will probably be refuted by the defense as *ex-post-facto* laws and hence illegal. They deserve closer attention.

Is Aggressive War a Crime? – During the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century war-making was not considered illegal and, consequently, no crime in international law. This opinion is still defended by responsible lawyers in this country. The defense in the Nuremberg trial will certainly argue that Count Two of the indictment, "Crimes Against Peace," has no basis in law, and that the defendants cannot, therefore, be accused of a crime they did not commit.

The conception that war puts both sides in an identical legal position with equal rights is contrary to the earlier doctrine which differentiated between the just and the unjust war—the war of defense and the war of aggression. It was developed, as Mr. Justice Jackson has said, "in the age of imperialism to make war respectable. . . . War necessarily is a calculated series of killings, of destructions of property, of oppressions. Such acts unquestionably would be criminal except that international law throws a mantle of protection around acts which otherwise would be crimes." In other words, aggressive war is a crime which comprehends all lesser crimes.

If international law is to be more than a collection of abstract and immutable principles, it must continuously

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adapt itself to new situations. We must not obstruct its growth. New customs must be institutionalized and agreements must be made which will become sources of a modern and rejuvenated international law.

By the time the Nazis came to power, aggressive war had been condemned as illegal in more than one international treaty. The Briand-Kellogg Pact, it is true, just as other pacts like the Geneva Protocol of 1924 or the Pan-American Resolution of 1928, referred to aggressive war as an international crime, but it did not carry any penalties except the strong disapproval of other powers. However, this should not preclude putting enforcement machinery into operation now.

It is particularly significant, therefore, as Jackson pointed out on August 8, that "the definitions under which we will try the Germans are *general* definitions. They impose liability upon war-making statesmen of all countries alike. . . . If we can cultivate in the world the idea that aggressive war-making is the way to the prisoner's dock rather than the way to honors, we shall have accomplished something toward making the peace more secure."

Are Heads of State Responsible? – One of the corollaries of making aggressive war a crime is the abandonment of the doctrine that those who decide to wage war are not accountable because their actions are "acts of state." If the doctrine of sovereign immunity were followed, the major war criminals—those who planned, inspired and directed the war crimes proper, even though they did not directly participate in them —would escape punishment. Moreover, while sovereign immunity is based on the necessity for yielding local jurisdiction as a condition of friendly intercourse among nations, it cannot be, and never has been, applied to an enemy.

The doctrine of sovereign immunity is a relic of the theory of the divine right of kings. It is, as a matter of fact, contrary to our practice of bringing to court officials whom private citizens have accused of invading their personal rights. If it were otherwise, we should have the paradoxical situation of legal responsibility being least where power is greatest.

Only by making individuals responsible for the crime of disturbing peace can a greater sense of personal responsibility be instilled into those statesmen who hold in their hands the lives of millions. For the first time, Jackson has commented, "four of the most powerful nations have agreed not only upon the principle of liability for war crimes and crimes of persecution, but also upon the principle of individual responsibility for the crime of attacking the international peace."

Does the Plea of Superior Orders Hold? – Some of the defendants will undoubtedly make the plea of "superior orders," which assumes that members of the armed forces are not liable for offenses committed under orders of their military or governmental superiors. All the Nazi atrocities could be defended in this way, with the result that only Hitler himself would be responsible. If this plea were found valid by the Tribunal, together with the doctrine of sovereign immunity, nobody could be held responsible in the end.

There are, of course, exceptions. A conscripted soldier who is put on a firing squad cannot be held responsible for murder. But the plea cannot be sustained if the order was illegal and the defendant knew it. Wholesale torture, slavery and pillage can certainly not be excused on the ground of superior orders. They are in flagrant violation of the laws of war. Moreover, the plea cannot be valid in cases where the defendant had discretion or took the initiative. At the Kharkov war-crimes trial it was proved that the defendants acted on orders of the German High Command as well as on their own initiative. Obviously, society cannot afford so broad an area of official irresponsibility. However, as the charter of the Tribunal provides, extenuating circumstances may be considered in the mitigation of punishment.

Can Crimes Against Nationals Be Punished? – It has been our experience with the Nazi regime that racial, religious and political persecution by a government against its own people can reach such dimensions as to constitute a danger to the world community. As the indictment shows, the persecution of the Jews in Germany, the destruction of German trade unions, the liquidation of opposition parties, the attacks on the churches, etc., all paved the way to foreign aggression. It is true that these actions are not yet punishable by international law. But it is a matter of common sense that some law should be evolved to punish them. It is

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for this reason that Article 6 (C) of the Tribunal's charter grants jurisdiction over crimes against humanity—"murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, *before* or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of, or in connection with, any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, *whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.*"

The last (italicized) provision is important because it includes crimes committed within Germany against Germans even before the war. The principle has already been used at the recent Dachau trials. And the indictment specifies the charges made in this connection. It is pointed out that the Nazi criminals imprisoned opponents without judicial process, held them in concentration camps and subjected them to outrages. It mentions specifically the murder of the Social Democrat Breitscheid and the Communist Thaelmann, and the imprisonment of Pastor Niemoller. And it accuses the Nazi criminals of the confiscation of property of hundreds of thousands of Jews. If the Tribunal acts on these charges, a new conception of the extent of a state's internal sovereignty will enter international law.

Should Organizations Be Declared Criminal? – It is agreed by everyone that organizations like the Gestapo or the SS were recruited from volunteers because of their special aptitude for violence. Such organizations, the indictment asks, should be declared "criminal in purpose." From the orthodox legal point of view the criminality of organizations is a dangerous concept. It would make membership in such criminal organizations a presumption of individual guilt as well. But does membership *ipso facto* imply guilt? Does membership constitute something rather stronger than mere presumption of guilt? These are the questions for the Tribunal to decide.

The burden of proof in the case of members of a criminal organization is, it appears, not on the prosecution, but on the assumed criminal. If accepted, the new concept means a complete reversal of the axiom that a person is assumed to be innocent until proved guilty. In the particular case of war-crimes trials it will be up to the individual to prove himself free from complicity in the criminal acts charged against the organization to which he belonged. It is admittedly a dangerous doctrine and its application in the case of the Nazis may be justifiable, but adequate safeguards will have to be found to prevent its misuse.

Are the Charges Legally Retroactive? – In all likelihood the main argument of the defense will not be a denial of the substance of the charges made, but of their legality. The defense will hold that at the time when the alleged offenses were committed there was no international law making these deeds criminal; that, therefore, war crimes constitute *ex-post-facto* legislation contrary to the fundamental principle of *nulla poena sine lege.*

Strict legal constructionists in this country will probably support this argument. But this view reflects, as Professor Glueck has pointed out, "a slavishly superficial conception of the doctrine 'no crime and no punishment without pre-existing law.'" For the principle of non-retroactivity does not deal with the protection of formal, but of *substantial* rights. Those rights which are protected by the laws of warfare and the fundamental principles of civilized criminal law will, of course, be respected by the Tribunal. The offenses charged, on the other hand—murder of civilians, their enslavement, torture, looting, etc.—are criminal under the laws of all countries, including Germany. A war crime, therefore, is not a recently invented offense and retroactively applied to the enemy. As Professor Glueck has said, "an international tribunal would be doing no practical violence whatsoever to the doctrine that prohibits retroactivity in applying *directly* the general law which is the *common* basis of the law of all civilized states."

Are There Dangers and Difficulties in the Trial? – The greatest technical difficulty, perhaps, is that the trial will have to be rendered in four languages, a dreary business and tedious prospect for all participants. But it has been reported that a solution has been reached whereby judges, prosecutors, defendants and reporters will be connected by headphones, operated with the assistance of skilled interpreters. The wearers, by operating a system of dials, will be able to hear what is going on in any one of the four languages.

Second, the trial may get out of hand if the judges and prosecutors allow themselves to be drawn into protracted discussion of the causes of the war. An attempt in this direction will certainly be made by the defense at various times. Mr. Justice Jackson is aware of this possibility. He has said that in the judgment of the world the war-crimes trials might be regarded "as merely political trials in which the victor wreaks vengeance upon the vanquished." But, he continued, "there seems no way of doing anything about the crimes against the peace except that the victors judge the vanquished."

Judgment Day is near for the top Nazi criminals. If no unexpected delay occurs, their trial will begin in Nuremberg on November 20. Mankind's outraged sense of justice will at last be satisfied. And it is well to remember that the plaintiffs are not, as the indictment states, the four great powers whose military victory made the trial possible, but the millions of dead soldiers of all nations, the millions of innocent victims exterminated by Nazi brutality, the millions of men, women and children who survived deportation and enslavement. Their martyrdom must not have been in vain.

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Class War in the Philippines

by Arthur Eaton

SINCE independence is not to be granted the Philippines until mid-1946, the responsibility for coping with many of the pressing economic and political questions still rests in the hands of the United States Government. However, much of our policy originates in offices of American tobacco, shipping, sugar and mining interests with holdings in the Islands whose views are expressed by members of Congress and subordinate officials of the Administration.

On September 24, Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, spoke on the floor of the House of Representatives urging assistance for rehabilitation in war-damaged areas and measures to ensure freedom of trade between the two countries as a means of restoring the Philippines' domestic business. His immediate answer came in the form of a bill proposed by Representative Jasper Bell (H. R. 4184). Ostensibly this provides for trade relations over a period of 20 years and grants tariff exemptions on certain products whose quantity export is at the heart of Filipino welfare. The bill seems to have originated in the office of Ed Hester, economic adviser to Paul McNutt, High Commissioner to the Islands.

Some amazing provisions are included: Section 17 reads, in part: "Notwithstanding any existing provision of the constitution and statutes of the Philippine government, citizens and corporations of the United States shall enjoy in the Philippine Islands during the period of the validity of this Act, or any extension thereof by statute or treaty, the same rights as to property, residence and occupation as citizens of the Philippine Islands. Such rights shall include rights to acquire land of the public domain, to acquire grazing, forestry, fishing and mineral rights, and to engage in the ownership and operation of public utilities, and all such rights shall be acknowledged, respected and safeguarded to the same extent as the same rights of citizens of the Philippine Islands."

Thus, as the price for quotas on imports of raw materials duty-free to the United States, the Philippines would be obligated to protect American monopolists, accept changes in its constitution not voted by the people and practically surrender its dignity as an independent republic. No attempt is made to grant equal citizenship rights to Filipinos in the United States.

Another section of the same bill forbids raising money by processing taxes or other internal-revenue taxes above the level collected on articles on November 30, 1941. This would ensure low taxes for business in the Islands and put a serious crimp in taxation needed by the new government for welfare and other expenses above requirements of prewar years. As a further refinement of the stranglehold, it is also proposed that all quotas for sugar, cordage, coconut oil, cigars, cigarettes, scrap tobacco, pearl buttons and embroideries—which are set up by the bill at a fairly generous level—shall be divided proportionately among those concerns in business during the calendar year of 1940. New native Filipino or new American concerns would be unable to get a share.

MANY FIRMS in business before the war had as protectors and representatives certain members of the Philippine Senate, who were peculiarly adapted to their control by virtue of "election at large." Three-quarters of the 24 members were Japanese collaborators. Only four did not join the puppet government, and two more died. The non-collaborators are Nicholas Buendia, Carlos Garcia, Mariano Cuenco and Esteban de la Rama. The rest "joined up" after the fall of Corregidor. The most potent leader was General Manuel Roxas, whose news organ in Manila recently quoted him as saying, "There is no such thing as a collaborator." He remained in the Islands, helped draft the puppet constitution, headed the Economic Planning Board and the BIBA, the Granary Control Board. He is now sitting as president of the Philippine Senate, having been "liberated" on orders from General MacArthur's headquarters. Senator Jorge Vargas, formerly President Quezon's "Assistant President," was Ambassador to Japan. Senator Benigno Aquino headed the dread fascist party, the Kalibapi, membership in which was compulsory during the occupation for all those seeking puppet-government employment or contracts.

These men and others profited on the war and now use their prerogatives to declare themselves free of taint. Those now seated in the Senate showed their hand boldly in turning down President Sergio Osmena's appointment to his cabinet of Tomas Confesor as Secretary of Interior (next in line of succession to the presidency) and Tomas Cabili as Secretary of

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Arthur Eaton acquired a basic knowledge of the Far East while on an exchange fellowship from the University of California to Lingnan University, Canton, China. A member of the armed forces, he was formerly employed in the Office of the Administrator, National Housing Agency, Washington, D. C. He has contributed to various political and economic journals.

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National Defense. Confesor was a civilian resistance leader on Panay and Cabili won fame as a guerrilla officer under Colonel W. W. Fertig on Mindanao. They were rejected because they proposed stringent regulations against collaborators' holding civil-service positions or being in the army. Names could be named to show that the reactionary elements were helped to cover up by friends in the American Civil Affairs Office after liberation.

THESE OBSTACLES stand in the way of the "little man" of the Philippines. The Supreme Court itself blocks any attempt to try collaborators. The Chief Justice and four associates remained in office under the Japanese (they recently announced that all decisions other than "political" ones remain in force). Impeachment of these judges would have to come from the Senate, which is unlikely in view of that body's record. And any People's Court of first instance would see its cases carried to the Supreme Court for final decision. It is no wonder, therefore, that 30,000 members of the newly strengthened Democratic Alliance recently paraded in Manila demanding the immediate ousting of collaborators from office as well as prompt action on rehabilitation and agrarian reform. But President Osmena and his administration have no constitutional authority to remove judges from the Supreme Court and must depend on American Counter-Intelligence forces and occupation commanders for investigation and determination of black-market operators and civilian non-government puppets.

American authorities have imprisoned some of the leaders of left-wing guerrilla groups. Two of the most outstanding are Alejandro Castro and "Taruk," leaders of the Hukbalahaps, or "Against the Japanese Army." The "Huks" have around a hundred thousand or more members, concentrated in the areas of Pampanga, Nueva Ecija and Tarlac, staunch centers of feudal landed privilege. An army of 5,000 men fought the Japanese in the earliest stages of resistance. Their program calls for giving the land back to the peasants and dividing the products of the land fairly. It challenges the right of the Catholic Church to be the greatest non-taxed landholder in the country. Their most famous leader, Pedro Abadsantos, was killed by the Japanese. Army officials justify the imprisonment of other leaders on the ground that they refused to give up their arms and were responsible for killing some fifty-seven USAFFE officers. Actually many of these were killed by picked Japanese agents who joined loosely organized lower echelons of guerrilla groups and who managed to turn Filipinos against the officers for "being insincere to Filipino liberty."

Despite attempts to intimidate such organizations as the Huks, development of a broad people's party is proceeding rapidly. The great majority, who did not share in the "Greater Prosperity Sphere" and who fought the Japanese implacably, are finding new and vigorous leadership in the guerrilla movement.

Progressive unions are being united under Guillermo Capadocia. A new labor group is being formed, designated as the CLO and patterned after the CIO in the United States. Its membership also includes writers, lawyers and other professionals. Other minority groups are uniting in the Democratic Alliance to crack the grip of the conservative Nacionalistas. Before any substantial gains can be won, however, elections will have to take place. This is a real problem.

Registration lists have been tampered with or have been lost; people have moved or have been killed without record; new officials must be chosen as inspectors: in fact the entire machinery for holding elections must be reëstablished slowly and painfully. To hold an election now, without such preparations, would play into the hands of the city machines, for there would be a light country vote. But if the balloting is postponed too long, it will give the collaborators time to cover up with a mass of newspaper wordage and radio or platform oratory. In any event, officials of High Commissioner McNutt's office estimate that it will be impossible to hold complete elections until June, 1946.

In the meantime, pressing problems of reconstruction must be met. Here the Foreign Economic Administration, before its liquidation, was doing yeoman work. It drafted a five-year plan for Philippine development, took over the supplying of civilian goods from the Army in September, arranged for transfer and sale of surplus military supplies, and sent three shiploads of urgently needed medicines, clothing and food to Manila. At last report, however, the Army had not provided the docks or the trucks to unload cargo, despite an earlier commitment to do so. The FEA was also confronted with terrific inflation. More than five times the 1941 volume of Philippine currency is in circulation and civilian goods are unobtainable. The agency was trying to bring in key consumer goods for sale to local distributors and to place these shipments in areas where production of Filipino commodities is being encouraged under the WPB's and the WFA's procurement program, particularly hemp, copra and alpaca.

UNRRA supplies nothing to the Islands because of their status as a United States dependency. It maintains an office in Manila, primarily to handle transshipment of goods headed for China. The Tydings bill for outright payment of $100 million will not begin to meet the estimated $1.5 billion of war damages. But with stimulation of trade, assignment of goods far in excess of the Army's formula of a "minimum to prevent disease and unrest," the Filipinos will rapidly get to work on their own rebuilding. They could be enormously assisted in their task if the United States Treasury would release the millions of tax funds frozen to the Commonwealth's credit.

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A generous America must not forget that five-sixths of the defenders of Bataan were Filipino officers and men and that our approach to Japan was simplified tremendously by the systematic sabotage and intelligence operations carried on by thousands of Filipinos. This saving in lives, due in large measure to their assistance, alone far outweighs what the United States has invested in the Islands during its forty years of rule. We must listen wholeheartedly to 16 million people who ask for our assistance in getting them back on their feet, ready to embark on their own career as an independent democratic republic on July 4, 1946.

The OPA Holds the Bag

by Seymour E. Harris

WITHIN the last few months this country has witnessed a rapid demobilization of controls including those which make price control effective. Prices, we know, are determined by supply and demand, and if at legal prices demand *greatly* exceeds supply, corrective measures are required unless the black market is to become supreme. Without supplementary regulations, it is impossible to keep the price of steak at 50 cents per pound when the public is prepared to buy six times as much steak at this price as is available. Demand must be reduced by controls or supply artificially increased by controls if 50 cents is to be the actual, not the theoretical, price.

With the liquidation of the WPB and the FEA, and with the OWMR and the State Department made responsible for the relatively few non-price wartime controls retained, the OPA's task of preventing inflation is not easy. (An observer could scarcely say that the WPB had had much enthusiasm for controls after V-J Day.) Yet the OPA is still responsible for the price level. Being no better at crystal-gazing than the rest of us, the OPA cannot know whether inflation is around the next corner or far away. It does know it must try to make its price ceilings stick if the threat is not to become an actuality.

The OPA cannot count on the same measure of cooperation from business, consumers and other government agencies that it received during the war. If the OPA is lax, it will be held accountable for the ensuing inflation. If the OPA gets tough, it will be blamed for putting the skids under reconversion. Many prominent businessmen have already charged that its price policy deters business from renewing production of civilian goods. The heat is on.

Current demands for higher wages are also an inhibitory factor in OPA planning. In a pronouncement on price policy during reconversion, the OPA announced its adherence to a policy of high wages and low prices. (Mr. William H. Davis was reputedly fired because he was assumed to have made a similar statement—in somewhat more precise terms.) Nevertheless, any rise in wages which results from the current labor disputes may make the task of the OPA more difficult and its position more unpopular. It may point to a presidential order which allows higher wages but precludes higher prices; the Price Administrator, nevertheless, will be held responsible by labor if, in the face of rigid prices, wages are not allowed to rise as much as they would have in the absence of price control.

This is not intended as a sermon against higher wage rates. American economic history has been marked by relatively stable prices over long periods and tremendous gains in money income and wages. In the 75 years between the Civil War and World War II, our national income in stable dollars rose by almost 11 times—and the major gains were not the result of population or price changes. (These are, of course, rough figures, but they indicate the broad movements.) Population only tripled and an important offset was a reduction in the working week by about one-half. In short, our gains in this 75-year period were primarily spectacular increases in money wages and other money income. The ratio of wages to total income does not seem to have changed greatly. Large gains for labor should continue in the future with further rises in productivity: a weekly factory wage of $100 in another 30 years is not a dream but rather an estimate on the basis of historical experience—and not an overly optimistic one.

Businessmen must learn that high wages are compatible with low prices. But the fact that relatively stable prices and fantastic increases in wage rates have characterized our history for more than 100 years does not justify a 10, 30 or 50-percent rise in wage rates at this moment. The appropriate rise now depends on costs and profits in each industry. Once high levels of output are achieved and the tremendous technological and other wartime gains are absorbed by industry, business will be able to pay much higher basic wage rates than are current today. Perhaps prices will even be

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Seymour E. Harris, associate professor of Economics at Harvard University, was formerly director of the Office of Export-Import Price Control of the Office of Price Administration. His most recent book, Price and Related Controls in the United States, *was published in May by McGraw-Hill.*

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lowered. The gains should not be monopolized by labor, and particularly not by organized labor alone. While it would be well if business understood the historical forces, it would also be well if labor were a little better disciplined and not quite so impatient.

The rise of wages should be adjusted to the level of output and hence to profits. At one-half of capacity, a wage of 50 cents an hour may be too much; at full capacity, $1 an hour may be too little. Once reconversion is effected and on the assumption that we learn how to make full use of our resources, the gains in an improved standard of living and increased leisure may surprise us all. Meanwhile labor and capital must be moderate. They must take every precaution to prevent strikes which deprive the public of essential services.

The wage problem, as I have said, will not make price control easier. In some cases, wage increases and stable prices will not be consistent. The price agency will have to determine whether the rise shall be at the expense of profits or the consumer. Its authority to pass higher wages on to consumers is, however, limited by existing legislation and presidential orders.

IN MANY MARKETS supply and demand at legal prices will not be in balance. We need controls until the gaps between them are narrowed. According to a WPB survey, the public now wants to buy seven million refrigerators and six million radios. All this is backlog demand. But it will be a long time before the supply of these and other durable consumers' goods will appear in adequate quantities.

In wartime, the setting of price levels results in an artificial supply and demand. This is brought about by the use of controls which ration supplies, thereby automatically reducing demand. Without such controls after the war, a large excess of demand can yield only one result—a rise in prices. If the price of a refrigerator is set at $100, and if under free conditions the price would have been $300, the difference of $200 will be pocketed by someone, somewhere. The manufacturer may cheapen his product or sell profitable expensive models; the distributor may violate price regulations and raise prices in a hundred ways—low prices for used goods turned in; reduction of services; outright violation of selling prices; various forms of bribery; the consumer may resell at a higher price.

Even worse headaches are in prospect in the construction industry. It will take time to train adequate supplies of skilled labor, to treat such bottlenecks as certain types of plumbing and clay products and to get a flow of lumber products sufficient to meet the demand. In the meantime, however, a disproportionate part of the total demand will make itself felt as soon as the lid is off. Only a continuance of L-41 (actually being scrapped), which controls the demand for building components, can exclude a demand which will send prices sky-high beginning next spring and bring about the use of scarce building materials according to the prices offered rather than essentiality. It is because the dangers are not immediate that L-41 can apparently be removed without arousing severe criticism. It takes time for housing and construction demands to accumulate, and meanwhile the situation may seem normal. A $2-billion demand for construction will not cause prices to skyrocket. But if demand should reach $5-10 billion in a year or two, that would be another matter.

THE FUTURE of price control depends also on estimates of future prices. A majority of economists fear inadequate demand. Experts in Washington envisage a decline in wages of $25 billion and in gross national income of $40 billion in 1946. According to them, inadequate demand for consumption and capital goods will more than offset any inflationary pressures even in the period immediately following reconversion —probably 1946-47. Others admit the importance of general downward pressures, but they are also impressed by strong inflationary trends to be looked for during the next few years. My view is not so pessimistic as that of the gloomy prophets who will not allow us even a temporary spell of rising prices, income and employment prior to the emergence of the long-run downward pull to be brought on by a deficiency of spending.

Despite the possibility of a substantial amount of unemployment, the prospects of a boom seem bright. The inflationary factors are potent: about $225 billion of liquid assets belonging to individuals and business and $75 billion or more in institutions which, in fact, are owned by the former (compare the $60 billion of *all* liquid assets before the war); $140 billion of wartime savings; an expansion of money and deposits of 170 percent; a substantial reduction of taxation; the removal of consumer-credit controls; the weakening of the OPA through the abandonment of those devices which really make price control work (with the virtual disappearance of the WPB, even the inventory controls are likely to be on paper only); the large and insistent demand from abroad, backed up by about $20 billion of liquid assets and many billions of potential loans, and perhaps, most important, wage inflation in the immediate future—all these in my view will outweigh the anti-inflationary effects on capital of inadequate spending and the large excess capacity as compared to that existing after the last war. With unemployment at five million or less, inflation will prevail. If unemployment should rise to 10 million or more, we can be sure that pocketbooks will be closed, deposits hoarded and deflation may prevail.

To sum up: The OPA must go on, but unfortunately without the supplementary controls that keep prices in check. Until reconversion is largely accomplished (by, say, mid-1946), inflation will be restricted

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to particular markets. Later (1946-47), the decline in incomes will to some extent offset the upward pressures associated with increased wages, inventory buying, release of pent-up demand, etc. In this period, the OPA should be on the watch. The millions of American families which have incomes of $30 a week or less, already squeezed by a 30-percent rise in the cost of living, can ill afford a further 30-percent boost.

A Peace for Palestine

by Willliam H. Stringer

In proposing a solution for Palestine, the Administration needs some of that combination of idealism and practicality which was Franklin D. Roosevelt's greatest asset. It seems likely that, far from playing fast and loose when he assured King Ibn Saud of Arabia that no steps "hostile" to Arab or Jew would be taken, Roosevelt envisioned a formula which, while it included unrestricted Jewish immigration, cast Palestine in the role of bi-lingual leadership in a reviving Middle East, with *Lebensraum* for all.

His wider viewpoint needs to be remembered as the campaign to win friends and influence Americans for or against reopening the gates to Palestine roars into high gear. The United States or Congress cannot solve the whole problem merely by giving advice to Britain, nor even by agreeing to supply troops to quell disorders. Because stateless Jews are languishing in Europe, because tempers are tightening in the Holy Land, and because Britain's mandate must soon be exchanged for a trusteeship, the time for decision is now.

An effective formula has thus far been obscured by lack of vision, by failure to consider the mission which Palestine could fulfill as the intellectual, moral, agricultural-industrial leader of the Semitic Middle East. The immediate need is to let down the bars for 100,000 stateless Jews. But any long-range Anglo-American determination should be primarily concerned, not with whether Palestine is to be a Jewish or an Arab state, but with how to encourage the development of a democratic commonwealth with opportunity for all inside the framework of a Middle East which is being helped to shed its poverty and filth, its superstition and ignorance, its medieval methods of farming and living.

The Zionists have shown what can be done with these semi-arid lands. They have earned the right to continue and expand their activities. It was during a tour of Palestine that I had my only safe, sanitary drink of milk in the entire Middle East—in a modern Jewish cowbarn. It is well known that Zionist immigrants have terraced the abandoned hill-slopes, washed the salt out of Jordan Valley acres, replanted forests and established flourishing settlements. But one has to see it, to believe the driving spirit, the devotion to task, sun-up to sun-down, which has made pioneers of former clerks, storekeepers and housewives at Afikim, Degania, Nahalal and the other collective settlements.

At one of the first Jewish settlements in the upper Jordan valley I had tea with a respected patriarch, a bowl of handsome Jordan grapes before us. His solemn arguments for a continuation of immigration—the grander plans of Zionism did not concern him—were doubly impressive, with evidence wherever one looked as to what already had been achieved. Some 34 years before, there was nothing but a malarial swamp—then 10 immigrants from Russia, the slow growth, the first trees planted, the first water tower, the change from dry to irrigation farming, the loans paid off, with the crowning achievement in plentiful garden vegetables, bananas, plums, olives, grapefruit; in thriving cows and chickens.

The Sea of Galilee sparkled beyond the dining-room window as he remarked that Baron Hirsch, the great Jewish philanthropist, had spent more money to colonize Jews in Argentina than had been expended to date on Palestine farm settlements, yet the Argentine project had failed. "There was not the spiritual, returning-from-exile incentive behind it which we have here," he emphasized. In Palestine more than 200,000 colonists have been successfully settled on the land, with another 300,000 Jews living in cities. Meanwhile the Arab population has increased from 500,000 in 1921 to more than 1,100,000.

Palestine has meaning to the Arab world, too, he admitted, but it is not the sole semi-fertile spot in that world. Syria was once the "granary of Empire"; Iraq supported five times its present population until its agriculture was ruined by Turkish and Bedouin maladministration. He warned that many Americans in the Middle East, both educators and oil men, favored the Arab position on Palestine. The educators in their American-endowed universities have brought the light of learning and culture to as many rich men's sons and poorer natives of the Levant as could be reached, and naturally feel a godfatherly attitude toward their protégés. The oil men's reasons are obvious.

William H. Stringer is a member of the Christian Science Monitor's *Washington staff. He recently spent six months covering the Middle East, including Palestine, as a war and political correspondent for his paper.*

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Anyone traveling about Palestine finds many of the Arab peasants a likable and stalwart improvement over the weary fellahin of Egypt. Schools are being slowly improved and new orphanages show signs of an awakening civic consciousness.

One who has visited the Jewish settlements and seen the first faint stirrings of a new day in Arab schools, finds it difficult to assess all the moral rights and wrongs of Arab and Jewish position. But certainly it is preferable to bruise slightly the sensibilities of the Arabs by bringing in Europe's refugees than to risk bruising heavily both the bodies and spirits of those refugees by leaving them in Europe. And it is well to pierce the fog of today's propaganda:

1. Arab threats of violence mean little. The Arab states are talking big but they have no armies capable of effective warfare. Two British battalions suppressed a wartime pro-Nazi putsch in Iraq, for instance. The Arabs accepted the first Jewish settlers in Palestine; they accept the 550,000 to 600,000 Jews there today. They would be likely to accept larger numbers without fuss if Britain and the United States announced that there was to be no fuss. They are likely to riot only if violence promises results. Actually, only a few autocratic Arab chieftains seek to "intervene" in Palestinian affairs.

2. These Arab rulers know they have more to gain by coöperation with, than by opposition to, Britain and the United States, what with expansionist Russia already in near-by Iran. These wealthy desert kings, whose subjects live in deepest poverty, fear the threat of communism. They would take a less adamant stand on Palestine if they were offered a program of Pan-Middle East assistance, even a modest project like the irrigation exhibits which oil companies laid out in Saudi Arabia to impress King Ibn Saud.

3. With sufficient funds available for development, there will be room in Palestine for the 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 Jews who may wish to emigrate from Europe, and then some. No Arab need be displaced. There is no doubt at all that a Jordan River TVA, such as suggested by American soil-conservationist Lowdermilk, would provide vast tracts capable of supporting several million colonists.

4. Whether the American people realize it or not, the United States has a potential interest in the future of Palestine, apart from the ties between Palestinian and American Jews. Had Marshal Rommel taken Egypt, Palestine would have become a vital Anglo-American defense bastion. No all-weather global air route can be developed without touching the Middle East. Palestine is a natural pipe-line terminus for Persian Gulf oil deposits totaling 20 billion barrels or more. With the Egyptians asking Britain to leave Egypt, it is not being forgotten that a duplicate Suez Canal could be built across western Palestine.

Because the Middle East had more than military importance, President Roosevelt sent James M. Landis to Cairo in 1943 to handle Middle East supply interests. Dean Landis reported back to his chief how the moribund, poverty-stricken area could be awakened by Western assistance and loans and might in future provide a fertile market for American goods. Palestine could lead this reawakening.

What, then, of the final solution? Can Britain, or Britain and the United States, guarantee that Palestine will become a Jewish Commonwealth? Can a land where Jews are in the minority or where they may eventually gain a slight majority be handed over exclusively to the Zionists, whatever the original premise and promise? Does this conform to the Atlantic Charter?

The Zionists should be accorded every opportunity to bring in immigrants. But there is no certainty—even if the one or two million Jews who are declared to be anxious to emigrate from Europe and North Africa were admitted—that the high Arab birth rate plus immigration from surrounding areas would not keep Arab population equal to Jewish. At the Degania settlement, after 30 years, children averaged only two and one-third per family. Meanwhile, infant mortality among the prolific Arabs was dropping from 300 per thousand—the present Transjordan figure—to 140 per thousand. Perversely enough, there has been a heavy immigration of Arabs into Palestine from Ibn Saud's own kingdom, workers who sought the higher wages and living standards of Palestine.

The fundamental need is for Jew and Arab to begin cultivating, at high levels, that coöperation which already exists at village level. Believe it or not, Arab farmers do sell their produce to Jewish settlers and city dwellers. In turn, teachable Arabs have learned modern farming from Jewish agriculturists. Arab villagers more than once warned nearby Jewish settlements when Arab terrorists were planning raids, back in the turbulent prewar days.

If Jewish farmers and industrialists hope to sell their products in the Middle East, they must build good will, not boycotts, in the years ahead. Before World War II, Arab leaders could not be persuaded to sit at the same conference table with Jewish officials. Although the mental climate has changed little since, there is ground for believing that the basis for a progressive bi-lingual, bi-racial state could be laid:

1. If Britain, with American support and ready assistance, should announce the permanent reopening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration, with land acquisition permitted so long as legitimate Arab interests were not harmed. Such announcement must be delivered in such firm, decisive language that every Arab will know that the Allies mean business.

2. If, to assure a sound future economy for Pales-

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tine and its neighbors—and a profitable market—a United Nations or Anglo-American rehabilitation program for the Middle East were adopted, which would make loans, extend long-term credits and provide the experts and know-how necessary to improve sanitation, irrigation, education, health and farming.

Any Anglo-American consideration would have to determine whether, as an interim status, Palestine should be divided into Arab and Jewish cantons, like Switzerland, with a federal capital at Jerusalem, or—a doubtful possibility—whether a federation of Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon is advisable.

Oak Ridge: Secret City

by Louis Falstein

EIGHTEEN MILES WEST of Knoxville lies the town of Oak Ridge, birthplace of the atomic bomb. We drove over a recently constructed road and I asked the driver, a young private, when the road was built and how far it extended. He smiled obligingly, hesitated and finally said: "Suppose it's perfectly all right to tell you, but I wish you'd inquire about it from the proper authorities when we get to Oak Ridge."

That was my first lesson in what is a habit of long standing with Oak Ridgers: security. I found out that security includes not only the Clinch River and Cumberland Mountains which keep the outside world from this atomic city. I saw gates within gates and barbed-wire fences and signs warning of "Prohibited Zones" and "Restricted Areas." And posters in dormitories, offices and stores: "Protect Project Information. . . ."

People in authority say, "Don't quote me on this" or "This is off the record."

A young scientist told me, "Even those who talked in their sleep learned to keep their mouths shut." I asked naïvely wherein lay the danger of talking in one's sleep, and the reply was: "What if the wife heard you?" Things aren't so bad now, he said with relief. "There was a time, coming home from the lab, when I couldn't talk to my wife at all. I pretty well knew what the Project was making, but I couldn't tell her. We'd sit around the dinner table and the strain was terrible. A man could bust. Then we started quarreling. Over nothing, really. So we decided to have a baby."

A psychiatrist at the Oak Ridge Hospital told me of his increased work load during the days before the Bomb was dropped. "The strain was terrible," he said. "I had my hands full. But practically no one talked. One fellow couldn't stand it, so he told his wife. But she felt the secret was too much for her and she told it to a friend. So they had to terminate all three of them in a hurry."

Louis Falstein, recently discharged from the Army, flew 50 missions with the 15th Air Force. Now in New York, he is working on short stories and a novel. He visited Oak Ridge as a special correspondent for the New Republic.

Actually very few of the 75,000 Oak Ridgers knew what was being done on this great reservation. Some rumors had it that synthetic rubber was being made. Wiseacres said they were getting ready to manufacture buttons for the Fourth Term. One plant didn't know what the other was doing, and even within plants the work was completely departmentalized. The people on top knew, the scientists knew, but they didn't talk. The Bomb hit Hiroshima and the Oak Ridge Journal ran a banner head: "Oak Ridge Attacks Japan."

But the people still don't talk. The whole world knows what Oak Ridge is producing. What isn't known is *how* it's being produced. As an outsider you will be heard out with tolerant suspicion when you talk of atomic fission or the Bomb, but if you mention plutonium or U-235, the cold stares set in. The more polite Ridger will listen to your question, dig into his pocket for the Smyth Report, and pointing to a well worn page, will say: "There is your answer."

The fact of the matter is, the Smyth Report contains more information about the Bomb than most people in this town possess. The ones who know more keep it to themselves, and the rest feel it's none of your business.

At first glance you wonder what all these thousands of people from all parts of the United States are doing in this hidden Tennessee country. From the ridges which lace the reservation in all directions, you look in vain for signs of industrial activity. Finally you discover several smokestacks. But they are smokeless. All over the place, seemingly planless at first, are a jumble of hutments, barracks, dormitories, trailer camps. Perched on the ridges are the demountables on stilts looking like chicken coops, the houses and permanent apartments. The over-all impression is a combination of army base, boomtown, construction camp, summer resort. The "Colored Hutment" section looks like an an Emergency Housing Slum Area.

I asked my driver, a young woman from this Bible Belt country, where the plants were. "We'll git to 'em," she said with a knowing smile. "It takes time." And like a trained guide she pointed to the neighborhoods and called them off: "Where you're staying,

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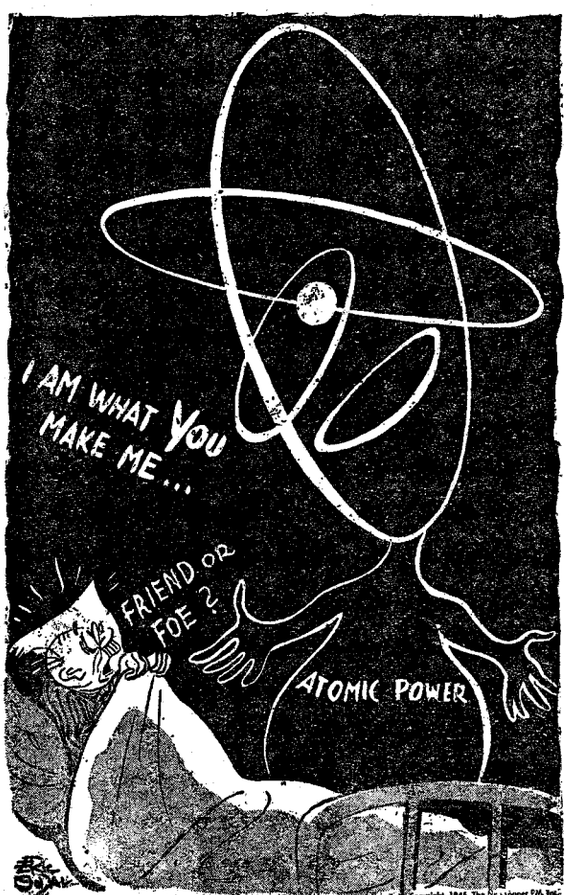
that's Jackson Square, main residential and business section." I scribbled in my notebook: Pine Valley, Elm Grove, Grove Center, Jefferson Center, Middletown, Happy Valley. While pointing out the neighborhoods, she also suggested that I jot down the A&P's, the Farmers' Market, Supermarkets, and a hot dog stand selling Coney Island dogs for ten cents. She called my attention to the fact that in the Trailer Camps the streets were named after animals: Squirrel, Terrier, Racoon. But I didn't ask her how come there was a Lincoln Road in the heart of Tennessee.

"I want you-all to write a good story about Oak Ridge," she said warningly. "There's been many of you writers from the North, but I ain't seen a good story yet. You fellas don't seem to git the sperit of this place." I heard a great deal more on the subject of "the spirit" from articulate residents during my stay.

"There's 53 old cemeteries here," my informant continued, "spread over the 95,000 acres of Roane an' Anderson Counties. When the people was moved off the land for the Project to commence, the Army promised it would take care of the cemeteries. And they do." On Decoration Day the approximately 3,000 former inhabitants of these ridges are all granted passes to come and decorate the graves. "What happens when somebody on the Project dies?" I asked. "Well," my driver said, "they's shipped back home where they's from." What's more, she added, few people ever die here, because most of the workers are young. "I never seen a grandmother in two years I been here," she said.



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The plants are widely dispersed and hidden in the valleys. Miles of wooded areas separate them from one another and from the residential districts. Mountains and ridges prevent any observation until you are actually near them. First come the warning signs, then the big fences and guard towers, and in the background are the massive atomic fortresses. Again there are no smokestacks, and no smoke pours out. I said to my guide it didn't seem to me as if anything were going on inside those plants. "Plenty going on," she replied, "just ain't no smoke to it."

The mystery deepened even more with the realization that while a great many things entered the huge structures, very little seemed to come out. Later I learned that it required big quantities of ore and many complicated processes—done here and elsewhere—finally to isolate the negligible bit of precious uranium from the mixture of U-235 and U-238.

There are several methods of extracting the uranium. The Tennessee Eastman plant, known as Y-12, and comprising 270 buildings, uses the electro-magnetic process. Carbide and Carbon Corporation, K-25, occupying 71 buildings, obtains the same results by gaseous diffusion. S-50, operated by the Fercleve Corporation, employs the thermal-diffusion method. All these processes have been tested, and they all work. X-10, the Clinton Laboratories, formerly connected with duPont, are doing research on plutonium, the main plant being at the Hanford Engineering Works in the State of Washington.

Three shifts keep the plants in operation day and night, and thousands of workers and technicians from Oak Ridge and its environs check in past the maze of fences, guards and more guards. Few of them ever see the finished product, and before the Bomb struck Hiroshima they hadn't the least inkling of what was going on behind the thick walls that separated them from the radio-active uranium. Charlie Chaplin's awe at entering the super-modern factory in "Modern Times" was nothing compared to what the Project workers first experienced in the plants. Charlie at least saw what he was making. The Ridgers still can't see, but they know. There's a purpose to all the button-pushing and fantastic equipment.

"I still don't see how a gadget can take the place of a brain," a worker said philosophically, "but leave it to them long-hairs to think things out."

Three years ago the Manhattan Engineer District was a plan. The Black Oak Ridge country was chosen as one of the three atomic sites for its electric power, supplied by the TVA, its inaccessibility to enemy attacks, its water supply and the then uncritical labor area. The small farmers who inhabited these ridges were moved off the land with proper remuneration and dispatch. They could not be told why.

The bulldozers moved in, and with them arrived the

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jeeps and the automobiles. The army, having the scientists in mind at first, built several hundred permanent houses and put fireplaces in them. Often the fireplaces were there before the walls were up. Then the plans were changed, and more houses were built. More workers arrived, and the need for shelter became acute. They started building baracks, hutments and the TVA came to the rescue with those square, matchbox demountables. And finally the trailers were brought in and set up below the ridges.

IT WAS not an inspired migration. Many were lured by high wages; others by promises of comfortable living. The scientists, those who had worked with the Project in other parts of the country, knew the reasons. The GI's came because they were told to come. One woman said it was a good way of getting rid of her husband. "I knew he couldn't follow me past the gates."

They waded in the red-clay mud, and some walked about barefoot for fear of losing their shoes. The clay was hard and they had to water it at night in order to dig it next morning. People knew there was no gold to be found in the Cumberlands, and therefore it is the more remarkable that they worked with such fervor and pioneering zeal.

When Oak Ridge had 15,000 inhabitants, there was only one grocery store in town. Businessmen, unable to find out the potential number of customers or clients, were reluctant to move in. One five-and-ten concern asked for a contract barring competitors for a period of ten years. Slowly, warily, entrepreneurs set up shop in Oak Ridge. And they've done quite well by themselves, so well, in fact, that the OPA has had to step in on occasion to curb some enterprising souls.

Roads were laid out, buses started to operate, taxicabs were brought in. Neon lights went up on business establishments, and some people started calling Oak Ridge "home." They cut weeds and planted Victory gardens and raised pets. People started having children, many children. "Pretty near all there was to do in those days," a father said.

Today the city has its Boosters and Junior Chamber of Commerce, and a Women's Club. It has beauticians; one hair stylist advertises as being connected "formerly [with] Helena Rubinstein's Fifth Avenue, N. Y." There are tennis and handball courts. A symphony orchestra, composed of Project employees, is led by a prominent scientist. There are seven recreation halls into which people can wander and join a bridge game or participate in community singing. There are several movie houses and a Little Theatre and a high school. But Oak Ridge still has no sidewalks. "When I first came here," a youngster of ten said, "I missed sidewalks most. Now I don't care."

Some people point with pride. Others point at the "Colored Hutments," where living facilities are primitive, to say the least, though comparable to some of the housing for white workmen. Negro children are not permitted to go to school with whites; they journey to nearby Clinton for their education. And for that reason many Negroes did not bring their children to Oak Ridge. Plans are now being made to provide school facilities for the Negroes as soon as a sufficient number of children are enrolled to justify it. They have one recreation hall, the Atom Club, and one movie house, which is located 12 miles from their hutments, in the K-25 area.

The GI scientists point to the great discrepancy in salaries.

No one points at the food served at Oak Ridge cafeterias, and that's as it should be.

One of the town's most interesting institutions is the Oak Ridge Hospital. It is an experiment in what its brilliant young director, a lieutenant colonel, says "has absolutely no relationship with socialized medicine." He calls it "The Group Insurance Plan." Nevertheless, I advise Dr. Fishbein not to be lulled by the colonel's reassurances. The plan works something like this: each family head pays $4 a month, and the medical services include all his children below the age of 19. Doctors make private calls, but the fees go to the hospital. There is no private practice. The hospital has 300 beds and can handle 1,500 in-patients monthly. Five psychiatrists are attached to the institution, and their emphasis is on what they call group therapy. The hospital is staffed with high-caliber practitioners, many of them from the Mayo Clinic. Everybody in Oak Ridge can afford to enjoy good health.

THIS IS the only city in the United States which has no unemployment and no reconversion problem. There are no election headaches, since the councilmen act only in an advisory capacity to the District Engineer, who is both an army officer and the mayor. Those who acquire an additional child try to move from a B-house to a C-house, and so on up to a F-house, which rents for $73 a month. And those who marry and are lucky move from their "Single" dormitories to an A-house. But no matter where they move, most of it is Cemesto (cement and asbestos rolled into sheets). And there's a feeling of temporariness about the whole place. The one bank in town is bulging with assets, for which the state of Tennessee is not ungrateful. The inhabitants of Knoxville have learned to tolerate the outsiders, if not for their ways, for the revenue they've brought.

There is a tendency among many to talk about the "past" and about "the spirit" they had "in those days." A few have left for the other "home," but most are waiting. The Bomb that pulverized Hiroshima was the reason for their existence. The world was shaken to its very foundations. Now the people who've unchained this fury are thinking of its implications not only for their immediate tomorrow, but for the world's also.

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Washington Notes

Five Hurdles for Truman

PRESIDENT TRUMAN often seems to be trying to carry water on both shoulders, a little more on the left perhaps than the right. This is true in international as well as domestic affairs. Here is how Washington views a number of current problems:

1. *The atomic bomb.* – After proudly and possessively fondling the atomic bomb as America's "sacred trust"—while irritated Russia's blood pressure rapidly rose—Truman has had to acknowledge, when Clement Attlee quietly intervened, that Britain and Canada also share the "secret." So Attlee is coming here as middleman and mediator between Russia and America—an enviable diplomatic role.

2. *The British loan.* – Truman and his chief advisers, with the exception of Leo Crowley (who precipitated the abrupt Lend-Lease termination), would like to give generous terms to Britain, realizing the latter's desperate postwar plight and America's direct economic interest. But they fear Congress, and consequently are bent less on seeking the right solution than one that Congress will accept. This means that the proposed loan may be too small, interest rates too high, and that if trade doesn't pick up as fast as Washington optimistically hopes, Anglo-American relations may be embittered by default later on.

3. *Inflation.* – Truman finds it hard to take a strong stand here, the inconsistency being typified by the inclusion of two such opposites as Reconversion Director John W. Snyder and OPA head Chester Bowles on the same team. Mr. Truman is not to blame for, but accedes in, the typical current paradox of aiding inflation by cutting taxes $6 billion at the same time that the Treasury is appealing to the public to take $11 billion in a new government loan.

4. *Wages-prices.* – At the last minute Mr. Truman omitted from his wage-price speech a specific formula for wage advances, though recognizing the validity of the thesis that corporations can raise wages, hold prices and still make big profits. So far as it went, this was exactly labor's position. Henry A. Wallace promptly issued the Commerce Department's specific study of the automobile industry, supporting Truman's case. Rumor has it that Wallace's increasing dissatisfaction had led him to consider resigning; he now feels that things are going better, with Truman's wage-price speech and show of firmness to Congress.

5. *Congress.* – Truman won't break with Congress, though his conciliatory efforts are being accompanied by direct appeals over its head to the public—the traditional way of getting action. He has taken two mild cracks at committees, and after Congress gets over its huff (which is all part of the same tradition), it will probably recognize that it has got to act on a number of issues. Watered-down full-employment and idle-pay bills are expected. The authority to streamline executive agencies will probably pass, but with strong reservations and exemptions; and the United States Employment Service will be kept in federal possession a little while longer (say June, 1946) to meet the expected crisis of between six and eight million unemployed next spring. Few observers believe that Mr. Truman's compulsory military service has a chance.

Down here in provincial Washington we often wonder about things in the great metropolis of New York. This writer confesses to a burning curiosity about a place called New York University. Is there really such an institution? Roaming over the country in times past, I have found in Hearst papers a reactionary column by Professor Lewis Haney "of New York University." Then again Frank Gannett's amazing Committee for Constitutional Government, which wants to begin by repealing the graduated income tax, distributes articles by Dr. Willford I. King, also a "professor of economics of New York University." Finally there are the leaflets of Walter E. Spahr, distributed by the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, largely directed against the Keynes-Hansen fiscal theories and urging us all to go back to Coolidge. Professor Spahr is "head of the economics department of the New York University School of Commerce." Is there such a place or is it just a figment of the Hearst-Gannett press?

Notes. – The British show a disposition to expose Clement Attlee to the United States press on his visit. The precedent was set on Churchill's last trip when the wartime Prime Minister, at a luncheon of the whole Washington press corps, took on the most blunt and brutal questions and scored a personal triumph. . . . Stassen, who will be a civilian in a couple of weeks, will start a campaign looking toward the 1948 GOP nomination, with pointed discussion of public issues. . . . *PM*'s Nathan Robertson, in his question from the floor in last week's Town Meeting of the Air, spotlighted GM's refusal to permit profits to be discussed in its negotiations with the CIO-UAW. As millions listened, management-spokesman Henry J. Taylor made Robertson repeat the question; then tried to duck it. . . . Henry Wallace put out the analysis of automobile companies' profits on his own authority, after submitting it to Reconversion Director Snyder earlier in the week without getting action. . . . Not a wheel has turned on the war-seized 240-mile Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad since the government turned it back to union-hating George P. McNear more than a month ago; labor charges a lockout, and the ICC is investigating. . . . Best description of the atomic-bomb crisis is by a molecular scientist, who declares it creates a "fifth dimension of urgency." . . . Drama critic's nightmare: A winged rocket of the future, traveling from London to New York in an hour, will permit him to see a play in Piccadilly and Broadway on the same evening. . . . Judge Samuel I. Rosenman has made himself invaluable to Truman. He is staying on as White House adviser and ghost-writer. . . . The Administration's proposed 20-percent wage increase for federal jobholders omits one, the President himself—Truman's "take-home" pay from a $75,000 salary is down to $26,000 after federal and state income taxes, and his $30,000 travel and entertainment allowance is strictly limited to state purposes. Before FDR no President's salary had been taxed.

Washington T. R. B.

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Broadway

Beggars Are Coming to Town, by Theodore Reeves. Coronet Theatre, October 27, 1945.
The Next Half Hour, by Mary Chase. Empire Theatre, October 29, 1945.

THE MELODRAMA, or what you like, at the Coronet Theatre is about Mr. Luther Adler's having sent his saloon partner off to jail, or let him go, and then prospering into higher brackets, a modernistic setting by Mr. Jo Mielziner, and a cigarette girl in dresses by Mr. Charles James. The partner returns finally, and brings some assistants, so to speak, with him. It is all not easy to follow and very boring to attend. It is more interesting to note that the name of the theatre has been changed from the Forrest to the Coronet, and to ponder the question as to how many in the company or in the audience ever knew why the theatre had its first name—such is the fame in the theatre of even a thundering actor who took the country by storm. Mr. Paul Kelly as the returning partner gave a performance with a certain refinement and style. Otherwise the best things about this overblown evening are Mr. Charles James's dresses.

When the author of "Harvey" has a play produced, the theatre street looks up. It found the new effort disappointing, however, for reasons half vague and half shrewd or professional. The new play does not seem to me boring, though nobody could call it important.

The story of "The Next Half Hour" concerns an Irish family that has come to America with a young sister who later on married and produced a family of three and, in the best American tradition nowadays, has achieved widowhood. She has the gift of foreseeing what is to come, an old-country asset if you like, and speaks of the banshee—that spirit in a black dress who follows the family, and who has been heard on occasion to utter low sounds, sobbing and ominous, that presage a death in the family. One of the sons has been consorting with a man's wife down the street and the mother fears the worst—she hears in time the banshee's cry. For a moment it turns out to be the uncle, her older brother, who dies, and so matters seem to look up. But finally it is the younger son, whom she has sent to the woman's house in search of his brother and who is shot by the betrayed husband. This, however, is not quite enough for the playwright—no, the mother must go out of her head and realize none of the tragedy.

This kind fate granted to the mother in "The Next Half Hour" is significant of what is, fortunately or unfortunately as you may see it, granted to the audience by the play as presented.

"The Next Half Hour" is not boring because it presents a fair galaxy of characters, with their familiar Irish crotchets and the neo-American variations on the same. Galaxy is a handsome word, and etymologically in this case a good one, since the association there is the Milky Way and the derivation is from the Greek for milk; for a certain vague film extends over "The Next Half Hour" by which it has not the healthy glow of comedy nor the final, inescapable tone that marks the tragic pattern, what we call tragedy. No small amount of life is created by the author; we watch and listen; we are engaged and pleased with the vibration of such goings on. The speech itself, though in it lie many possibilities of charm and sting and tradition, is only fair; no chance of puzzling a Broadway audience is ever taken. But the picture of the family as a family has a good deal of life to it.

"The Next Half Hour" is unimportant because it has essentially no tone, no basic power or continuity. It does not face the issue of that banshee and death; it does not echo and declare its inherent passionate fatality and doom. The whole business of it, taken seriously and significantly, breaks down completely when the old brother dies. We have been desperately following the mother in her fear of her son's death, and then all of a sudden it turns out to be only an old man who is booked for the grave anyhow. But this bit of theatre trick is soon after followed by the real dénouement, which is the killing of the younger son in his brother's place, and then that leads to the mother's going out of her mind—in sum, to stage tosh. One may enjoy stage tosh, but one must not be asked to take it seriously.

It should be said very seriously, however, that such items as the above do not constitute the real point. The point about this play is that from the start there must be the tone, the tragic medicine, the basic reality of mood, that both predicts and includes the end. In art as in life—which is always the case—we cannot have our cake and eat it too. But of course third-rate theatre does not know this or will not remind itself of it; and so we get the sweetish works, the practical, hard-boiled directing overlaid with vulgar-sugar, the eye on a quick end, sometimes successful and sometimes not. Our efforts have gradually produced an audience that would be hard to beat as to low mentality; and as to taste, that whole subject remains a matter of jabbering words. As to our stage publicity, its silliness and degradation are beneath contempt—as the phrase goes in Tibullus, even Delia is not better known to our dogs.

Miss Fay Bainter has the role of the continuous mother in "The Next Half Hour." It is a role that Miss Laurette Taylor could make the play itself shine by, though the comparison is odious. Miss Taylor is genius in acting. Miss Bainter has a lovely quality, and plenty of people in the audience are sure to say she "is the whole thing"—whatever that means. For short scenes she is very right, very delicate and intense and even obvious. But for the whole role, in many lines, she is monotonous. Her brothers brought her to America, saw her marry and produce children, never married so as to support her widowhood, her children adore her, et cetera. And her playwright has supplied her with a distinct variety in her lines, a genuinely lively Irish brain reaction. It is patently true, therefore, that Miss Bainter cannot be, as she is, so constantly touching and hoarsely sweet, dainty and distressed. The pattern becomes obvious and moribund, one admires the goodness and deplores the flatness. And now for a sharp truth: in such cases the actor's emotions shape the direction and color the mood in general, but it is the brain that directs the execution. The basis of an actor's effort concerns the soul and the emotion, the immediate result proceeds from the mind and the sharp play of vitality.

Miss Thelma Schnee as the wicked young wife gives a

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commendable performance but loses her audience because she works too hard. Mr. Francis Compton and Mr. Art Smith are excellent as the two O'Neill brothers. A genuine talent is to be found in the young actor, Mr. Conrad Janis, who plays the second son; he has flexibility and true feeling.

STARK YOUNG

Art for Science's Sake

WHY ABSTRACT?[1] contains two long letters written by Hilaire Hiler to Pauline Townsend (who had asked him to tell her why he changed his painting style so drastically), one on Hiler by Henry Miller and a note by William Saroyan about genius and Hiler's paintings. Pauline Townsend—whoever she is—doesn't get to write anything and Hiler writes to her as though he were instructing a universal art public. He usually sounds like the racier type of Town Hall lecturer: "I took another brandy and soda and told them they were a couple of parvenues." The book is choked with erudition, absolute revelations like "Everything that man constructs is based on the right angle" and quotations from famous people Hiler has read (and usually talked to), all of it sounding half understood and a third or less analyzed. The following is typical of the handbook paragraphs Hiler writes, his cultural dabbling and the fact that he reads like a file whose cards have been jumbled:

> I think, with William Blake, that a man who sits down and copies something, no matter how cleverly, is not producing a work of art. I believe, with Emerson, that "beauty must come back into the useful arts, and the distinction between the fine and useful arts be forgotten. If history were truly told, if life were nobly spent, it would be no longer easy or possible to distinguish the one from the other." It seems to me that the thing which painting has in common with architecture, and fabric and ceramic and furniture design is *design*.

In his first letter Hiler says that he changed to an abstract style "some ten years ago" after having practised a liberally distorted realism which he called "neo-naturism." One of his reasons for doing this was to exploit in painting the latest psychological and mechanical theories of color. The impetus to his change came when he discovered that in a white painting of house-painters, flesh tones were disruptive. He left them out and there he was, "abstract as hell!" Throughout this letter Hiler talks a great deal about design and blurs as badly as possible the most popular idea in modern art discussions: that the concrete expression in painting has to do with the design of such elements as color and not with "the depicted scene."

Hiler's second letter was written a few years later and had to do with his coming "in contact with science and scientific training." He had been psychoanalyzed and the scientific method of analysis so inspired him that he decided to examine his own field in a scientific way. He found painters inexact, romantic, mad and bohemian. "Some of the things I found out about my colleagues and their manner of attack appeared fantastic in the new light of reason. Any attempt to discuss these attitudes and examine them in collaboration brought on violent emotional reactions. With few exceptions the red faces and shouting made it necessary to give up this method of investigation as not only trying and footless, but unpleasant.

"Thus I was put upon my own resources. . . ."

Hiler has become a zealous scientific painter. Painting, he feels, should be as precise as modern architecture. "The color should be applied without fortuitous brush ridges, lumps, gobs of pigment, or knots or irregularities from the underlying support or ground. The shadows and highlights which these accidents entail preoccupy the eye and disperse the optical interest." In scientific non-objective painting he feels that the most important work will be that which is based on geometrical ratios and proportions. He advocates rules for the use of color like the neutral gray scale worked out by Koenig and Dietrici. He believes that if a painter uses such guides, works reasonably and objectively, "the work almost finishes itself." There is none of the constant doubt and anguish met with when working by intuition. Hiler feels that the change to scientific painting won't be easy and I personally agree with him.

Hiler's reasons for changing to abstract painting are just individual and limited enough to seem to be precisely the ones that he thought moved him, but I don't think they will inspire others to change. He starts off on the right foot by describing painting as a matter of feeling (he makes that thought as hard to take as anyone ever has by describing it as "a sort of pain in the stomach, or perhaps it is the solar plexus"), but, like most enthusiastic purists, he gives an impression of referring to technique and theory as though they were in no sense the result of feeling. The purist argument inevitably starts by narrowing painting down to a matter of designed line and color on a flat surface instead of showing that design is constantly driven, controlled and ordered by the expression. Once design has been isolated from feeling, however unintentionally, qualities which have been by-products of expression are held to be ends. It is typical that in Hiler's letter the precision of a Mondrian is admired and not a basic virtue which is the particular Mondrian emotion apparent in every inch of the canvas, the result of an absolute checking of each stroke against sensibility. A lot of the synthetic ring to Hiler's scientific argument comes from the fact that he shows so little of the analysis that resulted in his ideas. His advocacy of "modern color," for instance, is no argument for painting abstract unless he shows that it can be exploited to more purpose in that kind of painting than in representational.

The best part of the book, which is half an analysis of art by Hiler and half an analysis of Hiler by Saroyan and Miller, is the Miller description of a circus-like painting lesson with Hiler. The expression is mainly enthusiasm over the unconventional methods of an artist who has some of Miller's own qualities—curiosity, buffoonery and enormous energy. It is an unusually good portrait that manages to give an exact sense of Hiler while he is painting—of his looks, conversation, studio and paintings, his idea of himself—and to show admiration for him, but it almost always uses an ambivalent approach. Miller has proved over and over again that he is an unreliable critic of painting and one of the most generous. For once, though, he manages to make his subject appear something less than the most wonderful break for painting of all time.

MANNY FARBER

[1] Why Abstract? by Hilaire Hiler, Henry Miller, William Saroyan. New York: New Directions. 100 pages. $2.50.

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Science and Technology

Radar: Electronic Watchdog

AMONG the impressive number of wartime inventions which will affect universal peacetime existence, Radar is outstanding, for its uses will probably be enormously expanded.

Radar, a word compounded from *Ra*dio *D*etection *a*nd *R*anging, is a kind of electronic eye which can (a) detect an object and (b) inform the operator of the distance between himself and the object he is watching. Its sensitivity and its speed of operation are high. During the last phase of the European war, Radar was used to pick up single German mortar projectiles in flight, thus enabling computers to locate the German batteries.

Essentially the functions of Radar are similar to those of the eye (augmented, if necessary, by a telescope) and the optical range-finder. The important difference is that, while in operation, Radar does not depend on visible light rays but "sees" by means of radio waves. The results, consequently, are different. The eye cannot see through darkness—Radar can. The eye cannot penetrate clouds or fog—Radar can. The eye cannot look into a closed room—but neither can Radar.

Darkness, clouds, fog and smoke stop visible rays, but they do not interfere with Radar waves. Solid obstacles, however, stop both. An enemy battery hidden behind the morning fog of a meadow is invisible to the eye, but not to Radar. An enemy battery hidden behind a ledge is invisible to both—which is why our Radar units had to pick up shells in the air and trace their origin by mathematics.

The first thing that should be said about Radar is that "a Radar" is not one specific thing. It should not be used like the word "radio" when referring to a radio set. Essentially, "a radio" is one specific thing, an instrument for converting the modulated radio waves emanating from a broadcasting station into sound waves which we can hear. Radios differ from each other merely in size and price. "A Radar" should be thought of as being more like "a vehicle." Vehicles have in common the transporting of people, but there the similarity ends. The resemblance is merely one of function; otherwise "vehicles" differ enormously. There are different types of Radar and they all have the function of detecting and range-indicating in common. But there the resemblance stops—at least for the layman if not for the electronics engineer.

The principle on which Radar operates is simply the echo, so it is not surprising that the inventions which led to Radar were made independently in various countries for various purposes and at different times. But they merged soon after the First World War.

The reason for one of the fundamental inventions was the desire *not* to broadcast. Broadcasting, as the word implies, means that everybody can listen in. Radio engineers wanted to reproduce the privacy of a private telephone wire, and so began to experiment with directional radio. To do that with long wave lengths of several hundred meters, as used in broadcasting, was clumsy and expensive; hence they turned their attention to short waves. That was one important step. The next step was the discovery of the Heavyside Layer, a region high up in the atmosphere which does not permit radio waves to pass (at least not the usual wave lengths), but which reflects them back. Since radio waves, like light, travel at a velocity of 186,000 miles, or 300,000 kilometers, per second, the time interval between the sending and the return of the impulse made it possible to determine the height of that layer.

These were two big steps in the discovery of Radar: the directional beam (still rather poor at that time) and the reflection from a distant object with subsequent measurement of its distance.

The invention of a German engineer, Dr. Behm, made and publicized in the meantime, pointed to a practical application. Dr Behm had invented the *Echolot*, an echo-sounding device for ships, which eliminated the old and tedious method. A cartridge was fired under water; the sound waves thus set off traveled to the bottom and were reflected back and received by a special device. Since the speed of sound in water is known, it was easy to compute the depth in question. This device was tried for aircraft too, but was found impracticable, not only because the engine made too much noise, but also because there were too many other noises and cross-echoes around. However, the idea was there—in fact nature had discovered the answer millions of years ago. Bats avoid obstacles in the dark by emitting shrill supersonic cries and responding to the echoes. Blind bats avoid obstacles as well as the others, but a bat with plugged ears needs light.

It would be logical to assume that an electronics engineer took Dr. Behm's Echolot and redesigned it for short radio waves in order to avoid confusion with natural noises. But this was not what happened. What really led to Radar was an observation made in the United States in 1922, during experiments with directional radio. It was found that moving objects between transmitter and receiver disturbed reception. In order to study this effect, the receiver and the transmitter were set up on the opposite banks of a river, ships passing in between being the objects of the study, all unknown to their skippers. As soon as it was found that the disturbance created by a ship actually varied with its size—as had been expected—developmental work was undertaken. Thus it became possible to check on ships entering or leaving a harbor, by day or night, in good visibility or bad. By 1925 it was found that it was not absolutely necessary to have the ship pass between receiver and transmitter, but that the ship itself would produce a radio echo, provided high-frequency waves were used.

This made it possible to place transmitter and receiver side by side. It was the first crude Radar, which shot an impulse of high-frequency waves at the suspected target. If there was an echo, it meant that the target was there. The measurement of the time interval between impulse and reception of the echo gave the distance. Only improvement and refinement remained.

It was an obvious thought to send the Radar search beam not just in one direction, say across a harbor entrance, but to make it rotate. The Radar antennae, which were mounted on the masts of battleships and on the towers of fixed ground stations, swept the sky much in the manner of the rotating beams of lighthouses.

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At first Radar's possibilities were thought of only in regard to massive things like ships. But as the apparatus grew more and more sensitive, it seemed likely that airplanes might be detected. Some doubted such "extreme accuracy" —none would have suggested then the possibility of picking up three-pound mortar shells in flight. The British National Physical Laboratory went ahead with the idea in 1935. In 1936 the British Air Ministry installed a chain of five stations, called radio locators, on the English East Coast. During the following year, 15 more were authorized. In 1938 they were tested thoroughly during RAF maneuvers and when Goering started the first blitz on London they saved England.

In all defensive operations the defender is at the enormous disadvantage of having to maintain his defenses along a long line, thinning them out that way, while the attacker can mass his forces at a point of his own choosing. The British defenses were thin indeed, but their Radar stations informed them of flights of Luftwaffe bombers long before they crossed the coastline, allowing just enough time for the RAF to concentrate against them.

In 1940 the British turned all their information over to the United States, where research had by no means flagged. Then Radar work really went into high gear and the result was a collection of at least a dozen different kinds, three or four of which were mass-produced and served through most of the war.

The simplest, now called Type A, sends out short-wave impulses which last only a few millionths of a second. This interruption is necessary, because continuous sending would drown out the returning echoes. The operator knows that these interruptions exist, but things happen far too fast for his eyes to follow. What he looks at is the round front end of a cathode ray tube across which an electron beam traces a luminous green line. Actually it is not a line, but a rapid succession of luminous dots. That line begins with what radio men call a "pip," an inverted "V" the top of which marks the position of the Radar itself. If there is another plane ahead, the returning echo forces the electron beam to swing over a bit at one point, causing a second and smaller "pip" on the luminous line. The distance between the tops of the two inverted "V's" represents the distance between Radar and the echo-causing objects. It does not tell what it is, but no plane equipped even with this simplest type of Radar could possibly run into a high building or a mountain, no matter what the time of day or the weather.

The A-scope also comes with a double line which stands vertical. At the bottom, the double line separates to form an inverted "V," which is the position of the Radar set. Here the "pips" show whether the cause of the echo is to port (pip on the left line), to starboard (pip on the right line) or dead ahead (pips on both lines).

The B-scope is somewhat different. It shows a vertical luminous line sweeping back and forth across the face of a scope which is marked with vertical and horizontal lines, with a vertical zero line in the center.

An echo-cause—say another plane—will appear as a luminous dot on the face of the scope. The height of this dot over the bottom line is the range and can be read off directly. The distance of the dot from the zero line in the center can be read off directly too, and may say, for example, 30 degrees, meaning 30 degrees to port, if the dot appears to the left of the center line.

Optical range-finders can do all this too, but only in daytime and good weather. The Radar can do it in any weather and in the dark. But is the object—obviously a plane because of its position and speed—friend or foe? Another Radar device answers that question: an exchange of Radar recognition signals is fast, automatic and reliable. Of course, a Radar device can do what Dr. Behm's echo-sounder could not do because of engine noises. It can tell at any time how high the plane is above the ground and not just its altitude above sea level—which other instruments can do. Altitude above sea level is a nice theoretical conception and a good thing to know, but it is not too useful in the dark over unknown and perhaps mountainous territory.

The final step in Radar development so far is the PPI type, short for Plan Position Indication. This is the type where the sweeping beam actually paints a picture on the view screen, with land and ships and planes showing bright, and water showing darker. And the PPI has been found to be able to do something which goes even beyond the simple definition of "seeing" through darkness and fog. To the trained operator, this type of Radar will disclose storm areas and thunderstorms. Airborne equipment of this type has picked up big storms as much as a hundred miles ahead. And while running into a storm is not too dangerous for modern aircraft, it is something no pilot likes, especially if flight schedules are to be kept.

Of course some "reconversion" and further development will still be necessary. What was good enough for war because there was nothing better, is not necessarily good enough for peace. Commercial pilots seem to feel that Radar sets are still too heavy and that they—the pilots—having ground coöperation and flying only routes they know thoroughly, do not really need them. This may be true for a moment, but not for long: a watchdog that is not affected by atmospheric conditions and that exhibits so many other amazing possibilities is certain to be put to use.

WILLY LEY

The Bandwagon

TRUMAN TELLS WORLD:
U. S. TO KEEP A-BOMB,
WORLD'S LARGEST NAVY
Won't Recognize Rule by Force
Anywhere
—*Head and subhead in the Boston* Traveler.

". . . Colored players have never been discriminated against in the major leagues. They have simply never been able to get into minor leagues to get the proper training for major-league competition." —*Alva Bradley, owner of the Cleveland Indians, as quoted in the Chicago* Daily News.

Vice-Mayor James A. Sullivan [of Yonkers], who is running for reëlection to the Common Council with the endorsement of the Democratic Party, was accused . . . of having sent plagiarisms of President Lincoln's letter over his own signature to

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Yonkers families that had suffered casualties in the present war. "I never read President Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby!" Mr. Sullivan retorted angrily. . . . "It's simply a case of two great minds running in the same channel. . . ." – *From the New York* Times.

Non-Intervention

Thousands of Chinese Nationalist troops disembarked from U. S. transports at this Marine-held port today and immediately marched inland into Communist-dominated territory. . . . American cargo ships also steamed into Chinwangtao, unloading Nationalist vehicles and heavier weapons. – *From* PM.

The United States has asked the British and Netherlands governments to remove American insignia from all lend-lease equipment being used against the Indonesian uprising, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes said today. . . . Our request is in line with the hands-off policy we have adopted toward the Indonesian uprising, but we have not asked Britain and the Netherlands to return the equipment to us. – *From the New York* Times.

The Path of Glory

Chicago department stores don't know what to do about former salesmen who went into the services and became captains, majors and lieutenant colonels. "You can't expect them to be happy selling socks or shirts," says one merchant. The stores feel kind of cheated, too. They say it was their training that taught the salesmen how to sell themselves along the road to success in uniform. – *From the* Wall Street Journal.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Indonesia: The Dutch Case

SIR: The belated treatment of the Indonesian issue in the *New Republic* of October 29 seems rather incomplete, biased and therefore unfair to the Dutch administration. To print an article by a Melbourne correspondent written two months ago and to write an editorial largely based on the information given therein is in sharp contrast with . . . comment in the American press generally. Knowing the high standards of fairness and integrity of the *New Republic*, which I have appreciated for years and have frequently quoted as Washington correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, I feel I must protest.

Fundamentally, the future of Indonesia has three aspects: the welfare of the native population, including preservation of its old and varied culture; its political status and rights; and the economic and strategic importance of Indonesia for the rest of the world. In any final solution worthy of acceptance, a compromise must be reached in which those three points have been considered.

Political "independence" does not necessarily mean a higher standard of living or—what is fundamentally at stake—a larger degree of human happiness. If the Indonesian people (who, incidentally, are not one people but a group of many peoples confined within the territory now under the Dutch crown) should be given their independence now—in other words, left to drift for themselves—it is doubtful that this would contribute greatly to their happiness.

It does not take much imagination to realize that their islands will be very vulnerable to both military and economic attacks in the near future. For all practical purposes it would mean wresting political control from the Dutch, who have had contact with these peoples for three centuries, and giving it to some other powers. A trusteeship for the Netherlands East Indies was excluded by the San Francisco Conference, at least as a compulsory proposition. As things now stand, the Dutch are opposed to a trusteeship by one or more other powers, not because they are afraid of criticism of their administration, but because they feel that their administration furnishes the best guarantee to the natives that their interests will be taken care of. Ever since the turn of the century the Dutch have been introducing reforms in the interest of the natives. This was the result of a hard-won victory for the progressive forces over the conservative business interests in the Netherlands.

Since the constitutional change of 1922 "overseas territories," the Netherlands government has had an entirely different approach to the colonies from that of either the French or the Americans. The Dutch have endeavored to preserve native culture and political institutions, particularly the native communities (which showed a remarkable degree of democracy) and law (called *adat*) as far as possible under modern conditions. The French and the Americans wanted to make Frenchmen and Americans out of the natives. At the same time the Dutch have improved technical and hygienic conditions in the Indies, as is generally recognized. They have done many things for the natives that cannot be explained by egotistic motives. They have encouraged native crafts, kept a whole division in the Buitenzorg Agricultural Experiment Station busy improving native crops, brought the old Javanese classics and translations of Western literature, printed at government expense, to small village libraries, and constructed huge irrigation works, largely for the benefit of native rice-growers. Hardly "exploitation of the natives."

The land has always remained in the hands of the natives themselves, who leased it to plantations. Administrative and technical personnel in the civil service were highly trained at Leyden University or Holland's technical and agricultural colleges of university rank. These persons generally had a professional approach to their work and many were very friendly to the natives. They certainly did not consider themselves representatives of a hostile and oppressive power charged with the task of holding a whip over millions of natives entrusted to their care. Knowing all this, educated Dutchmen are very reluctant to see all this work destroyed, or at least disturbed, by other Western powers which have factual if not *de jure* control as well as a different point of view. For it is unthinkable that any Indonesian leader will be able effectively to govern the whole of the present territory, which was held together by the Dutch crown. The most that could be expected would be an independent Java and possibly Sumatra. This, however, is guesswork. The Dutch feel that they are better able than other powers to protect the natives against the inroads of Western capitalistic exploitation.

Their plan to recover the confidence of the natives, as announced by the Queen, needs more elaboration. They propose home rule in local affairs and a union of all territories now under the Dutch crown in matters of foreign policy and defense. Each of the territories, including the Netherlands in Europe, will have representation in a superparliament, which

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will deal only with affairs of interest to the kingdom as a whole. The reason that the Dutch have not put this program into effect more rapidly is that they are a slow-going people who believe in evolution rather than in revolution, a trend apparent throughout their history. Once, however, they have introduced reforms they never go back, because they then have a solid foundation. With respect to the Indies, their chief error has been to underestimate the strength of the Indonesian movement for independence, which still lacks coherence and unity, as is shown by recent events.

An article by an Indonesian Setyadjit in *Vrij Nederland* of October 6, throws an interesting light on the question. "The issue between the Netherlands and Indonesia," he writes, "should not become a power issue. The real power is in the hands of the English anyway. . . . The European countries have won the Pacific war, but they still have to win the friendship of the Asiatic peoples. . . . Indonesians here in the Netherlands—though opposed to the reintroduction of Dutch colonial administration—are willing to coöperate with the Netherlands, because they are aware of the real feelings of the Dutch people. Give them an opportunity to confer with their countrymen in Indonesia. It is of the highest importance that the [Dutch] government issues a clear-cut declaration concerning its policy in the near future. The Queen's speech is not adequate under the circumstances. It is important that action is taken which proves contemplated policy. . . . We ask ourselves: Along what road is the Netherlands traveling? How do the rising Netherlands understand democracy?" Such is the challenge of a moderate Indonesian, freely expressed. These words are not revolutionary; they are not submissive: they are expressive of a conciliatory spirit, pointing toward a reunion of the Netherlands and Indonesia in a coöperative sphere and linking fine Indonesian traditions with democratic spirit and technical skill of the Dutch people.

Bethesda, Md. IR. THEODOOR W. L. SCHELTEMA

[Mr. Scheltema's apology for the "white man's burden" speaks for itself. The facts speak differently. The Dutch record in Indonesia, as we explicitly stated, was admittedly better than that of the French or British in some of their colonies. But this does not affect the basic injustices of colonialism and imperialism which are prevalent in the Dutch empire as elsewhere. The fact is that the Indonesians are in revolt against the Dutch colonial system as it existed at the outbreak of war, a system which the Dutch apparently want to reëstablish.

Whether "independence" is the desirable solution is another question. Mr. Scheltema gives the impression that we favored that solution. But we said: "The most unfortunate aspect of the Indonesian revolution for independence is that it must apparently proceed under the flag of nationalism," and we suggested that some sort of commonwealth plan or dominion status might be the preferable alternative.

Mr. Scheltema is, therefore, not justified in describing our editorial as incomplete, biased and unfair. We did not base the editorial on one correspondent's report, but on all the information available to us. That our editorial opinion is contrary to the comment in the American press generally, should not surprise our readers. — THE EDITORS]

GI Comment

SIR: We thought you might be interested in some GI comment. These extracts are from recent letters from our son Stephen, an infantry pfc who went into the Army the day after he was graduated from high school. He first saw action during the Battle of the Bulge and still has a year to go before he will be old enough to vote. He can therefore hardly qualify as a seasoned political observer, but since there are some millions of other boys of a like age and background, their opinions are of importance.

Bayside, L. I. F. S. WYTHE

[ENCLOSURE]

Since I have been in the army I have seen many changes in attitude that result from Army life. One of the biggest and most noticeable is the growth of suspicion in a soldier's mind. The most discouraging GI trait is his suspicion of nearly everyone—his Allies, the folks back home, his officers, his government, even his buddies. The Army itself is mostly to blame. A soldier who is not constantly watchful lest his equipment be stolen, lest he be chosen too frequently for details, or lest he be omitted from the company's recreation, is always left holding the dirty end of the stick, because nobody else will watch out for him. There is no place in the Army for the gullible.

Because the orientation on company level is poor, the GI is kept in the dark about events at home and the intentions of America's allies. Even in the States, the portion of the civilian population that the soldier met most often wanted to make money out of him or snubbed him socially and ridiculed his uniform. To an even greater extent the same held true for overseas, and consequently many GI's have a warped opinion of the French and English. The Army could combat this to some extent by more widespread and enlightened orientation on the company level and by coöperating with civilian agencies in cleaning up the sharks who wait for their GI prey in almost any city where GI's go on pass.

I am afraid if the people back home hope soldiers will take political reform action they are in for a disappointment. A soldier has no politics, either Left or Right, and I don't believe there will be any marked trend one way or the other when the Army is completely demobilized. Businessmen are hoping the soldier's anger at wartime strikers will be a weapon in combating unions. Isolationists, internationalists; labor, capital; wets, drys; Democrats, Republicans, all are expecting the Army to march 11 million strong into their respective camps. They all overlook several things. When a man is in the Army he dislikes the unions, which, he believes, are making things harder for him, whose members may be profiting by his efforts while he gets $50 a month. When the same man is fighting to hold a job, or trying to get a raise, or wants guarantees to which he feels he has a right, he will have a different attitude toward unions. Many people forget that the circumstances in which a fellow finds himself go a long way in determining how he will feel about certain things. Maybe soldiers do dislike unions, but workingmen go for them in a big way, and from the 11 million soldiers of today there may come 10 million workingmen of next year.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Sergeant D. G. B. writes from Europe to describe the suffering and starvation there and to ask for all possible aid at the expense of "economy, nationalism and self-indulgence." The cruelty of atomic warfare, he says, is not so great as allowing innocent people to die when our resources could prevent it.

A correspondent in New Orleans sends us a clipping from the *Times-Picayune*, a paid advertisement of the Louisiana State Medical Society about the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. The bill is represented as placing doctors under the control of politicians and bosses, destroying the effectiveness of medical care in the United States, raising taxes, and as a step toward the destruction of free enterprise. The writer says, "Comment is hardly necessary when a group of professional men resort to this kind of rabble-rousing misrepresentation. . . . If the federal government does seek to place a reasonable number of doctors at the disposal of the sick, it may have to establish its own medical schools in order to train a generation of physicians with something resembling a social conscience. Medicine today, with a few notable exceptions, is simply a business conducted by profit-minded Babbitts."

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Books in Review

Gone to Chicago

THE LONG MIGRATION of Southern peasant Negroes to the great cities of the North following the Civil War has been one of the least studied and least understood phases of American history. There is a greater literature in our libraries on the Underground Railroad than there is on the various tides of migration in the postwar years, although the latter carried from three to four million Negroes to the North, while the Underground in all its years of existence probably involved less than fifty thousand slaves.

The preference of the historian for history as contrasted to the contemporary event is no doubt the chief reason why the story of the later migrations, despite their cultural and political importance, have been worked over by so few scholars; and why, with the exception of a few good but limited books (and these now out of date), the story has been told chiefly in professional journals and in the unpublished theses of social workers.

But now the sociologists' foundation of statistics and case studies has been solidly laid, and the time has come for the appearance of studies with the method, insight and perspective we expect of social anthropology and history.

The migration is legitimate "history" now, even though it is still going on today, and even though tomorrow and the day after, fresh contingents of hopeful and frightened Southern Negroes will be stepping out of day coaches in New York and Pittsburgh and Chicago, beginning their lives in the unfamiliar North after generations upon the ineffable and haunting Southern ground that has been their native land far longer than America has been home for most of its white groups.

What of the others who made the break years and even generations before them? What of the Negroes who went North 60 or 70 years ago, hopeful young Negroes trained in the Freedmen's schools, who set forth still fired with the libertarian illusions of the great war days? What share of American life did they find for themselves and their children on these very streets where the Abolitionists had walked, and still walked, and before the halls and churches where Lincoln and Emerson and Beecher had made historic speeches?

In the 1880's, agents for the Western railroads came into the deep South filling illiterate serfs with fantastic tales of Kansas and the West. An undercurrent of secret hope swept the Negroes, and they left the South by the thousands, for the first time depleting the planters' labor pool in large areas. A committee of Southern congressmen stormed about it, but the years went by nevertheless, and the story was laid away in the files and the yellowing, obscure books on library shelves. What happened to these Negroes in St. Louis and Kansas City and Chicago?

Even the Great Migration of World War times has by now become legitimate material for serious history. Once a schoolmate of mine whose father had been a preacher in a northern Mississippi town told me the story of his first clear memory. One day in 1918 he stood with his father and a group of other white men watching a sheriff with a party of deputies rout out a train-load of cotton Negroes and their families who were leaving Mississippi on the special coaches provided by the war manufacturers of Chicago and Detroit. Looking back, this friend could remember the look of crushed disappointment in their faces, and he remembered his own childish, miserable sympathy for a cause he could sense but not understand.

The Negroes eventually went North anyway, impelled by forces more powerful than individual police action. In the minds of many white Southerners, vague questions about these things live unanswered as the years go by. What became of these people? How did they live? What did their children grow up believing about the South and white people? And these old field hands who were still alive, what did they talk about when they got together with other Southern Negroes in those big cities whose very names, in the framework of the race question, were ominous and strange to Southern ears? Did they miss the fatback and greens, the molasses, the sweet potatoes and the fried chicken—which they rarely saw? Did they miss Saturday night in the cotton towns where they stepped off the sidewalk for passing whites? Or did they remember the life with hatred and malevolence? In the lore of Southern race speculation, "gone to Chicago" and "gone to Detroit" have come to hold the same connotations of flight and mysterious fate that "gone to Texas" held for the white Southerners in frontier times.

There is hardly an established family or a business firm in the South which has not seen some Negro of long association hit the Illinois-Central highroad out of the South forever. And among the Negroes, countless families have been separated by these departures. Often the division will follow a pattern strange to the white mentality. It is not always the father or the young who go North; sometimes, for instance, it is a mother or a grandmother who leaves. But the general exodus, in straggling lines, or in sweeping migrations during wars and economic upheavals, is deep in the Southern consciousness. The Negroes leave, and their scrawled letters trickle back. Money orders come back from Chicago and Detroit for train fare. The white postmaster cashes them, looking intently into the bland faces of the Negroes, perhaps for a sign of the meaning and emotion he knows very well are there.

Old mothers visit their sons or daughters in the North—old women who have been "faithful servants" for thirty or forty years with the same white families. Perhaps they return from these visits once, or even twice, for the breaking away is not so easy for the old people. The South is all they know. Yet something about their mood is changed after these visits. They have sensed the spirit and the freedom of Black Metropolis, hard though the life is. And

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finally they go away and do not come back anymore. The gnarled old roots of their lives are torn from the Southern soil at last. And they are "gone to Chicago."

What sort of existence was it these Negroes fled to? What was it they found in the teeming, poverty-ridden Black Belts of the cities which not only held them, but called to others who were left behind? The white Southerner has almost no facts about this life, only a vague mythology of contemptuous guesses and hearsay. The average white Northerner is almost as ignorant. Viewing the disorganized life of Harlem or the Chicago black belt, the white man sees that the Negro has had a hard time of it. But being white, and average, he simply blames it on some inherent inferiority of the Negro, if he seeks a cause at all.

But the long migration of the Negro deserves far more study than this in American thought. It is the story of the greatest failure of the democratic process in American life. It holds a meaning and a warning that we have no choice but to learn eventually, either creatively and intelligently, or by the disaster of nationwide and worldwide conflict along race and color lines. Besides this grim content, there is woven through this long and harsh experience of the Negro a folklore worth many-fold the literary and historical studies that have come out of it to date.

For these reasons, it is profoundly gratifying to welcome a great book in this field, *Black Metropolis*,[1] written by two Negro scholars who themselves are products of the long migration, St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. By virtue of its range, its labor and its insight, the book seems certain to become a landmark not only in race studies but in the broader field of social anthropology.

Black Metropolis comprises 809 pages of data, graphs, narrative and incisive analysis of the Chicago black belt. For any open-minded man, it answers the question of what the Negro found in Chicago, and why the poverty-bound overcrowded black belt, with its high-rent kitchenettes, its discriminations, its towering barriers of real-estate covenants and racial job-ceilings, still calls to others from the mild climate and the open fields of the South.

In his brief introduction, Richard Wright tells with bitter poetry what the book unfolds and documents:

> Drake came from the South; Cayton from the Northwest; and I went to Chicago as a migrant from Mississippi. And there in that great iron city, that impersonal, mechanical city, amid the steam, the smoke, the snowy winds, the blistering suns; there in that self-conscious city, that city so deadly dramatic and stimulating, we caught whispers of the meanings that life could have, and we were pushed and pounded by facts much too big for us.

The book is based on a body of research conducted by a number of WPA field workers during the late 1930's under the direction of Cayton and W. Lloyd Warner. St. Clair Drake was one of the researchers. The two authors have digested and unified the material, but it is obvious from the mass of data alone that *Black Metropolis* represents a communal effort over a long period.

The method of the book, the discipline of social anthropology, is to explain the existence of the Negro community in terms of Chicago's history, and then to examine the black community on every social, economic and cultural level; exposing patterns of normal growth that have been blunted and distorted by the constraint of white barriers, and other patterns where development of Negro life is abnormal and lurid—cultural outbursts powered by needs and drives denied outlet on normal levels.

The black belt is a narrow geographic and economic enclave several square miles in area, housing 370,000 Negroes of all colors and of all economic standards, most of them in grinding poverty. In this neighborhood, near a dying industrial area and the stockyards, Negroes inherited deteriorated buildings many of which had already been condemned. It was not racial inferiority of the black migrant which made the slum, but the slum which reinforced the migrant's poverty and social inferiority. By the white man, and especially the influential white man, this distinction was and has always been misunderstood, not only in the case of the Negro but also for the Poles, the Italians, the Irish, the Jews.

Yet the white foreigner, if he had it in him to do so and was lucky, could work hard, educate his children, live long enough to see them secure in a better residential area, and his grandchildren completely assimilated Americans. Because of the Negro's racial markings, and because of the ominous and psychotic white mythology attached to them, this sort of escape has always been closed. This is the great single fact of the Negro tragedy in America, the pivot on which the whole problem swings and trembles. It is a creation of the white mind. The white mind, heart, conscience, intelligence, or whatever best defines the source of these things, is the only force that can remove this great pivotal lie by free will, without the blind, driving impetus of a race disaster.

The Negro can lift himself by his bootstraps only so far. He has already lifted himself a heroic distance, and no white racist can prove that his own stock would have done better or even as well in the face of the same handicaps. But Negroes as a group have no chance of completely allaying the white world's fear and animus until they are allowed to break through economic and social walls to better jobs, education, housing, social expression, and until they sense an end of their long spiritual ostracism.

There is proportionately too much repetitious material in *Black Metropolis* about social clubs and church groups, and there is too little about a number of significant subjects, among them the treatment of radical thought during the past decade. The individual and ideological conflicts occasioned by the shifting Communist Party line is given insufficient treatment, as are the implications of powerful nationalist appeals like those of A. Philip Randolph. In this connection, the book does perform an act of justice for the late Marcus Garvey, the extreme Negro nationalist of the 1920's, whose back-to-Africa plans were fantastic but whose fiery spirit at least wiped out the last vestiges of the hang-dog psychology in Northern Negro thought that had carried over from the South and slave days.

The data and case-work, even when repetitive, are a store-house of sharp and primary material. Occasional fragments are like glimpses of a Dostoevsky tragedy, for example this statement by the widow of a Negro steelworker who was killed in the Memorial Day Massacre at the Republic plant:

[1] Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 809 pages. $5.

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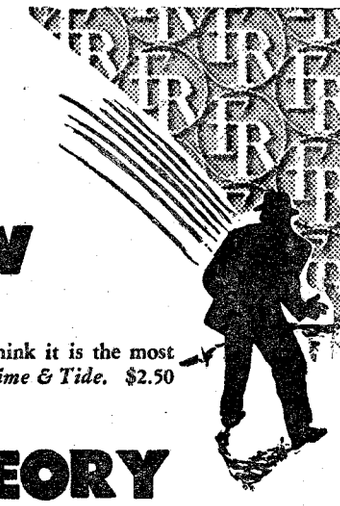

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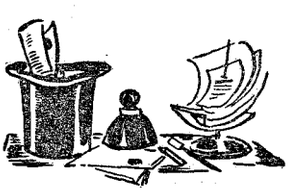

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They wouldn't let me in to see him until the Saturday before I had him moved to St. Luke's. They treated me all right, but they wouldn't let me see him. I saw others going in, but I couldn't tell whether they were visiting in the hospital or the jail.

I was let in on June 13. He'd been in since May 30. They thought he was dying that Saturday night, so they sent two policemen to my home to bring me to see him. He was so glad to see me he could hardly talk. He kept asking why I hadn't been to see him. He cried and I cried and told him they wouldn't let me in. He said they hadn't taken the bullet out and infection had set in. He was so sick. I wouldn't let him talk, but he kept saying over and over, "Police sure treat a man dirty. . . . "

There are occasional warm flashes of race humor in the text, utterly adapted to the material: "Even the quiet, well disciplined family man may get a thrill when a 'bad Negro' blows his top and goes down with both guns blazing at the White Law." And there are many shafts of Negro irony, like Joe Louis' "There's a lot wrong with this country, but Hitler can't fix it," and the familiar, clumsy eloquence of workers, like this stockyard laborer, who can hardly read or write:

'Course, one of them told me when I asked him to join: "What do I want to belong to a CIO union for? It's a white man's union." But I told him, "It's a poor man's union."

The brilliant Wright introduction is the best single essay in its field I have read. From cover to cover, this is a book of intellectual discipline and talent. It towers high above the slight, journalistic volumes that have been written in recent years by a number of white Southern newspapermen and which superficially engaged the same tragic and basic questions that are involved in any book-length statement on race relations. There is as much work in this book as in the more serious studies of the University of North Carolina sociologists, and I think it presents a more mature and penetrating view of race relations in America.

THOMAS SANCTON

In Defense of Philosophy

Philosophy in American Education: Its Tasks and Opportunities, by Brand Blanshard, Curt J. Ducasse, Charles W. Hendel, Arthur E. Murphy, Max C. Otto. New York: Harper and Brothers. 306 *pages.* $3.

THE PRESENT VOLUME is the report of a commission, appointed by the American Philosophical Association, to investigate the present state of philosophy and the role of philosophy in the postwar world. It is not, however, a joint report in the ordinary sense. For although "every statement made has been forged . . . under the watchful eye of independent and stubborn colleagues," the several chapters of the book have been written under their own names by the individual members of the commission. This fact helps to save it from the dreary and platitudinous "areas of agreement," usually not more edifying and no less indubitable than the belief that we live in one world, with which such books usually abound.

The members of the commission have now raised questions publicly which philosophers have long been asking of one another in private. In some instances the answers are given haltingly or with less clarity than might be wished for; but the questioners have not "winced nor cried aloud" at the possibility that the day of philosophy, at any rate as an important and independent part of the college curriculum, may be drawing to a close. Not that the members of the commission themselves are in doubt as to the value of philosophy either in itself or with respect to its permanent place in liberal education; but their conviction, one feels, is the affirmation neither of blind faith nor of vested interest.

Unlike most other disciplines, philosophy is always plagued at the outset by the necessity of proving that it *has* a subject matter. This difficulty has become increasingly acute at the present time, when it is frequently held that philosophy in the traditional sense—and in particular metaphysics—is a subject literally without content. Such a view is rejected by the members of the commission. It is argued that those positivists who have been most vociferous in holding this view have a philosophy of their own, which also must be assessed with the philosopher's tools of analysis and criticism; but the charge has been faced, and the book carries greater weight because of this.

Brand Blanshard considers four main grounds which have been most often given for complaint against American education, grounds "which speedily transformed themselves into as many demands upon philosophy." These include: first, the almost universal conviction that something must be done about the failure of the colleges to provide an integration of the students' studies into a unified and meaningful pattern; second, the concern over the "far more portentous" disunity in the communal mind resulting from a failure to achieve some common principles "to constitute a general intellectual coin"; third, a troubled sense of the failure of America to imbue her citizens not merely with firm beliefs in the liberal-democratic way of life but also with an understanding of their justification; and, fourth, the conviction that with the decay of traditional religious belief the contemporary youth is left with an "enormous and aching void" concerning the ultimate destiny and meaning of life.

The contributors to the present volume offer no panaceas. Indeed, one of them, Max Otto, says that "it is a safe bet that no model program of philosophy . . . will function in the anticipated future . . . the philosophies of a time reflect the state of knowledge of that time, and the impact of the urgencies and conflicts then prevailing." The philosophy of America, like her art and her citizenship, is the product of a whole social and cultural *milieu*. It will be as alive or inert, as wise or shallow, as that *milieu* requires or permits it to be.

But this is not to say that nothing can be done to increase the significance of philosophy or the quality of philosophical instruction. A self-critical profession, aware of its obligations to talk a common language and to deal with philosophical issues wherever they arise in the educational process, can do much to increase its own influence and to help toward the development of saner, wiser and more integrated human beings. One of the contributors, again Mr. Otto, frankly contends that professional philosophy must abjure merely speculative understanding in order to help broaden and clarify "the obligations of life as plain men and women face them." The others, convinced that wisdom is an in-

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tellectual as well as a moral term, believe that philosophy cannot do its own job either by descending too far into the arena of topical issues or by watering down its discipline simply to attract students. The essence of the philosophical method, if not its ultimate goal, is criticism, and the critical attitude cannot be imbued in ten easy lessons. What must be done is to create a cultural and intellectual ambience in which mental effort is expected and taken as a matter of course. But this cannot be done by philosophy alone.

The book is written, for the most part, in a more vigorous style and contains more incisive discussions than we have come to expect from joint inquiries into American education. C. J. Ducasse, for example, strongly and persuasively rejects any proposal to achieve unification of thought and feeling by reviving some *Philosophia Perennis* which would be agreed on in advance as a sort of intellectual base of operations. And Arthur E. Murphy points out that philosophy cannot perform its function save in an atmosphere of detachment and independence from prior commitments to received ideas of whatever stripe—including naturalism.

The function of philosophy, in a sense, may be understood precisely in terms of this issue. Ideally, the difference between the "average man" and the philosophically enlightened one is not so much a difference in underlying beliefs as in the way in which such beliefs are held and evaluated. The average man is usually unaware of his assumptions; he merely acts upon them for better or worse. When, as in our own day, they are aggressively challenged, he either blindly rejects or blindly accepts one of them, as the case may be, according to his present mood of acquiescence or discontent. Needless to say, democracy cannot remain secure in a world in which philosophical issues, for such they are, are decided by feeling rather than reason. Moreover, the beliefs of the average man as a rule are held piecemeal. What connection, if any, holds between his belief in democratic procedures and his vague acceptance of science and its methods remains, for the most part, unformulated. He sees no connections, therefore, between the onslaught against democracy and the attack on the methods of science, though the loss of either may spell the doom of both. If the perennial danger of a little philosophy is skepticism, the student of philosophy may still acquire tools for criticism and self-scrutiny which will help to provide some "immunity, beyond that of men in general, to the thousand forms of error."

The members of the commission offer in defense of philosophy and its place in American education little more than the time-honored pleas for increased and more connected understanding of man and his world, and a deeper and more critical search for the ends and means of human living. But these are and have always been its only and sufficient defense. How well or ill its tasks are performed depends in the end not upon philosophy but upon the human instruments that do its work. HENRY DAVID AIKEN

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Samson without Delilah

Song of the Dnieper, by Zalman Shneour. New York: Roy Publishers. 376 pages. $3.

GHETTO JEWS were curiously drawn to the Samson legend. He was to them not the blinded, unmanned Samson but the powerful giant who wrestled with wild beasts and put the Philistine hosts to flight. He was a kind of secular Messiah of strength, embodying the Jewish wish to be physically capable of ensuring Jewish survival. The strong men of Jewish history, the Maccabees and Bar Kochbas, had nearly as many admirers as the saints and the sages. Strength was prized, for all that one said rather scornfully: "As strong as a peasant." Everyone knew of the famous Breitbarts who twisted iron bars, and a teamster who could move a mired wagon or a butcher who was capable of carrying a huge carcass was accorded a certain respect. The pride of a Samson was that he did not have to bargain with his enemies. His strength put him above bar-

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gains and conditions: it made him free. But though a Samson might be passionate, boisterous, he was not a man of blood. The Jews abhorred the killer, the hunter, the hairy, bloody Esau. To call a man an Esau was to call him evil. The line of Cain, Ishmael and Esau was one of lawless strength, horrible to the Jewish sensibility. Judah was a God-fearing lion.

Mr. Shneour's Noah Pandre belongs to the traditional line of champions. At the bidding of his Rabbi he abandons his hereditary trade of butcher and his un-Jewish, almost peasant ways. He becomes a coachman and marries the daughter of Sender, the president of the coachmen's guild. He is changed by his new occupation and lives quite happily until, in the course of fighting a fire in the barn of Shklov's richest Jew, he angers the town's police chief and is arrested on the charge of striking him and insulting the authority of the crown. Afraid of further trouble with the police chief, the rich Jew perjures himself at the trial. Noah is sentenced to a year in prison. When his term is served he sets out for home. On the way he subdues a bull, rescues a drowning man and helps put out a forest fire. He is tempted by a peasant girl and succumbs, not, however, at the cost of his strength. In Shklov he routs a band of pogromists with a wagon shaft. He nearly kills the police chief, who has conspired in the pogrom. Their possessions gone, their only child dead, he and his wife emigrate to America.

There are ingredients in *Song of the Dnieper* (originally simply *Noah Pandre*) that do not mix well with those of the heroic Samson legend. Out of dramatic necessity, Noah is depicted as massive, simple, slow in thought as a man of such mold should be. But through his creator and perhaps inevitably in himself, because he is a Jew of the Pale, he shares the apprehensiveness, the nervous submissiveness of all ghetto Jews. Moses slew his Egyptian, buried him and fled. Noah merely shook his police chief and dropped him limp. It was young Abraham who during the pogrom killed the murderer Tchurillo. Noah stood by, appalled.

It was not that Noah lacked strength or courage, but that he recoiled from the bloody Esau, the taint of bestiality. The ghetto had changed Judah into a singularly moderate lion. Noah was all that a Jew of the Pale dared to be, in strength. Abraham, who dared to be more, was of another world. He was a terrorist and a modern.

Shneour writes with a great deal of force and a natural, rather somber eloquence; he discloses in the folk life of the Jews characters too blunt and vigorous for the familiar comedy of ghetto hares and foxes—Sholem Aleichem's gabardined milkmen and beadles, teachers, peddlers, shabby sports and penniless investors.

Yiddish literature has run a very short course. The writing of Hebrew will go on if Palestinian Jewry rides out the world crisis. But the center of Yiddish culture was in Poland, and the Polish Jews have been slaughtered, exterminated. Russian Jews, as Jews, are seldom heard from, and in America the Yiddish public, which consists of the immigrant generation, is dwindling. The number of Yiddish writers is declining. The heirs of the Yiddish theatre have dispersed to Broadway and Hollywood. The root of Yiddish life has been cut and Yiddish culture cannot live long.

SAUL BELLOW

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Crime and Punishment

THE YELLOW ROOM, by Mary Roberts Rinehart (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). Well, it's good to have the old maestress back again! And —right up to the very end—it's a swell yarn she's cooked up for her avid public. Young Carol Spencer takes the servants and goes to Maine to open the family's summer place so her hero brother Greg will have a pleasant furlough. A few hours after their arrival, one of the maids makes a gruesome find in a linen closet. It's murder, with most of the Spencers and their neighbors involved up to the hilt. Major Jerry Dane, formerly of the FBI and now recuperating from war injuries, gets the right answer, though the complications are so hideous that to do it he must have looked in the back of the book.

THE DEVIL IN THE BUSH, by Matthew Head (Simon and Schuster, $2). Mr. Head's *The Smell of Money* was the detective-literary find of 1943, and in his new book the literary side takes precedence. The Belgian Congo is the locale and murder is an incidental attraction of this novel of atmosphere and character. Dr. Mary Finney, who has been ministering to the natives' bodies for twenty years—she leaves their souls to others—thinks dysentery took André de l'Andréneau, owner of the Congo-Ruzi station, off too fast, even for Africa. She's right, and the reason he was given the lethal hot-foot makes for a lot of reading pleasure.

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY, by Helen McCloy (Morrow, $2). Peter Dunbar, a psychiatrist in private life and now a Naval Reserve lieutenant, en route to the Scottish highlands on a secret mission, meets Lord Ness of Glen Tor on the plane. Ness tells him of the puzzling case of Johnny Stockton, a young war refugee who persists in trying to run away from his new home on Ness's estate. Dunbar is soon convinced that the peculiar situation in Glen Tor is tied up with the reason for his trip. His commanding officer, Basil Willing, takes the same view, and their tracking down of the man they're after results in one of the best yarns of the year. E. H.

Other contributors to this issue

WILLY LEY is the military-weapons editor of *PM*.

THOMAS SANCTON, a contributing editor of the *New Republic*, is a native of New Orleans and now lives in Mississippi.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN, formerly a member of the philosophy departments of Harvard and Columbia, is now assistant professor of Philosophy at the University of Washington.

SAUL BELLOW is the author of *Dangling Man*, published last year by the Vanguard Press.

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Literature — Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, Chairman; Howard Fast, Mark Slonim, Alexander Kendrick, David Burliuk, John Hersey

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